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Art. I. 1. *The Constitutional History of England, from the Accession of Henry VII. to the Death of George II.* By Henry Hallam. Two Volumes. 4to. pp. 1444. Price 4*l.* London, 1827.

2. *An Essay on the History of the English Government and Constitution, from the Reign of Henry VII. to the present Time.* By Lord John Russell. Second Edition. 8vo. London.

WE owe an apology to Lord John Russell. So long an interval ought not to have elapsed from the publication of a volume on such a subject, and from such a pen, without its receiving our serious notice. Yet, we perhaps owe it to ourselves to state, that this apparent neglect has arisen in some measure from a feeling of regret, that a theme so comprehensive and momentous, should have been despatched, by so competent a writer, in so brief a space. We are aware, indeed, of the vulgar horror with respect to 'a great book', and have often seen, that the author who would affect the sentiments of mankind immediately and powerfully, must in most cases present his appeal in a form sufficiently condensed and striking to be generally attractive. Still, the most that may be well expected from such compositions, when relating to a great subject, is, that they should rouse attention, and elicit inquiry. Naked rules of policy can afford but a partial guidance to mankind. Their utility must greatly depend on their being associated with such historical illustrations as may afford a more certain disclosure of their worth, and also of the best modes of applying them; and in order to this, space is necessary. The distinguished Author adverted to has not, however, so far copied the example of Montesquieu, as to present his countrymen with a series of isolated maxims in the place of a history. On the contrary, his historical learning has enabled him to make that selection of

facts, which exhibits most successfully the spirit of that conflict between the governing and the governed, which we find extending from the accession of the Tudors to the fall of the Stuarts, and which has conferred so much interest on the modern history of this Island, in the esteem both of the native and the foreigner. The vigour, the truth, and the generous feeling which characterize his Lordship's conclusions, are, indeed, such as must be often grateful to the most matured student of this 'great argument'; and must, we think, awaken in many others, who are by far too supine respecting it, a patriotic wish to become more familiar with its heights and depths. The "Essay" retains the form of a narrative, from the time of Henry VII. to the revolution of 1688. The story is then considerably interrupted by detached chapters on various constitutional questions; and these are generally connected with the existing order of things.

Mr. Hallam's volumes are distinguished by that patient research, that calm attention to evidence, and that philosophical spirit, which his character as a writer had led us to anticipate. No man of the present generation has made so valuable an addition to English history. That honour might have been won by Dr. Lingard, had his freedom from prejudice at all equalled his industry or the skill which he has generally displayed in the choosing and disposing of his materials. The errors into which the marvellous obliquity of his feelings has led him, are frequently exposed by Mr. Hallam. Yet, it must be confessed, that the portions of his work which relate to our constitutional history, are truth almost unalloyed, when compared with those of Hume. On all points, however, where the credit of the Romanists is concerned, his statements are scarcely more worthy of confidence than those of Dodd's *Church History*, or of that veracious personage, Father Parsons. We do not make this assertion unadvisedly, but as the consequence of having frequently felt indignant at the tricks which we have found that gentleman attempting to play upon us. The point also in which Mr. Hallam excels, is precisely that in which Dr. Lingard is most deficient. In the History of England, the object of the writer in collecting the great body of his facts, is simply to relate them: in the history of the constitution, all such matters are treated as valuable, only according to the value of the principles which they serve to illustrate. An exception must of course be made here, with respect to events having any thing of a religious bearing. In every such case, it becomes evident, that Dr. Lingard can meddle, quite as adroitly as his neighbours, with that philosophy of history which, as occasion serves, he can discard as 'the philosophy of Romance.' Apart also from the circumstance of reducing history to mere narrative, and which, as it requires but a subordinate portion of labour in

the writer, imposes little on the reader, Dr. Lingard's talent as an author, is certainly much more of a popular kind than that of Mr. Hallam. His influence, indeed, will be less,—chiefly because his integrity is less; the modern practice of appending authorities to historical works, though much abused, forbidding the apprehension that any man will be allowed to falsify history with the impunity of the ancients.

In Mr. Hallam's volumes, too, there are instances in which the whole truth is not told, and some things against which we strongly object; but such is, nevertheless, their general excellence and worth, that we should be much pleased to see them obtain a wider circulation than we can venture to anticipate. His statements are generally clear, and his style sometimes rises into a grave and manly eloquence which is peculiarly impressive. Even in his carelessness, there is a dignity; and his master spirit may be as readily perceived in the half-gossip of his notes, as in the more formal communications of his text. But his habits of thinking are deliberate, and so far beyond the usual reach of authors, as to place him in frequent connexion with the obscure and the recondite; and these qualities of his mind will be thought, we fear, to be too faithfully reflected in his style. The imagination and the passions are parties who do not come and go at a bidding; but it is certain, that their abeyance is not more important during a search after truth, than is their presence when endeavouring to urge its claims, so as to secure them attention from the mass of mankind. With the majority every where, reason has been the feeblest faculty; a secret with which they who have addressed the popular mind with most success, have been most familiar. We could wish, therefore, that Mr. Hallam had applied himself to give a little more rapidity and vividness to a story which is in itself the most powerfully dramatic in the history of nations. For this, he has ability enough, and to spare; and nothing was wanting, but that those humane sympathies which are so honourable to his character, and which give so much charm to his writings, should have induced a little more condescension to popular weakness. If, from the want of this, his work is not unfrequently slighted as a heavy book, and in quarters where better things might have been expected, we shall be the first to rejoice.

The authority of Hume is now very nearly obsolete. Yet, he has been more read on English history, than any other, or, perhaps, than every other writer. And whence is this? It cannot be ascribed to his learning; for that, considering the work which he undertook, was materially defective. With respect also to the many questions of freedom and religion, the two points on which it was most important to avail himself of the feelings of his readers, his disqualifications were total

and glaring; his creed being scarcely more widely removed from that of the Anglican Church, than were his polities from those of the English constitution. And yet, he has done more towards forming the opinions of this and the last generation, respecting the disputed points in our history, than any other historian. This may have been owing, in part, to the zeal of an expiring faction, who continue to perform their periodical homage at the shrines of Strafford and Laud, and with whom infidelity is a venial crime, when compared with a love of liberty or the sin of viewing religion as more a matter of the conscience than of the statute-book. But, making due allowance for this cause, the popularity of Hume, and his consequent influence on public opinion, must be regarded as a striking instance of what may be effected, under great disadvantages, by the charms of beautiful narration. We shall, no doubt, be reminded of his rich philosophical genius, as having greatly contributed to this result. But we must contend, that his faculty, in that respect, would only have been an impediment in the way of his popularity, had he not possessed discernment enough to be a philosopher without seeming to be so; and had he not kept the untutored apprehension of the many among his readers carefully before him, even while commanding his refined speculations to the disciplined capacities of the few. To an acuteness of intellect and a force of imagination more masculine than those of Hume, Mr. Hallam has added a profound erudition and a true English feeling, to which that writer had little pretension. We wish that we could indulge the hope, that the effect of his labours, on this and on future generations, would be also greater.

To attempt, within the limits to which we are restricted, an analytical description of a work extending to fourteen hundred quarto pages, would be impossible. There are, however, certain leading features of the struggle sketched with so much spirit by Lord John Russell, and more fully exhibited by Mr. Hallam, to which we shall invite the attention of our readers. The value to be attached to these publications may thus be fairly estimated; and if it be borne in mind, that both writers are alike free from the taint of puritanism, their enemies themselves being judges, it will perhaps afford matter of gratulation, if not of surprise, that so fair a case should be at length conceded to that long calumniated body.

The English Constitution is admitted on all hands to consist of King, Lords, and Commons. Where any one of these is wanting, the Constitution itself is wanting. If we except the brief interval of the Commonwealth, the legislative power of the sovereign and of the nobles, is sufficiently obvious in every page of our history. But, until towards the close of the third

Henry's reign, the germ only of our representative system is observable. The Church, indeed, in her synods and councils, had long supplied an imperfect, but useful example of this species of policy. And the Norman barons, as well as the ecclesiastical dignitaries who were associated with them in the great national council, were always understood to be convened in behalf of interests besides those which were immediately their own. They supplied the place of the Saxon Wittenage-mote, and possessed, we apprehend, nearly the same powers. But the writ of Simon de Montfort, issued in the name of his prisoner, Henry III., to the sheriffs of the kingdom, called distinctly for the return of two knights in behalf of each county, and of two citizens or burgesses in behalf of the principal boroughs. From this period, the representation of the commons is a matter of historical certainty. It is true, that the degree of popular suffrage admitted into the mode of electing these delegates, is a point to which political antiquaries have brought no ordinary measure of learning, ingenuity, and prejudice. The time also has been, when the connexion was by no means remote between the midnight vigils of the scholar as extended to such topics, and the production of that *impetus* in the public mind, which generally appeals to the award of an arbiter more dangerous than the pen. It is not disputed, however, that the knights representing the counties, and the burgesses representing the smaller communities of the boroughs, were reputed by their respective constituents to secure the most equitable methods of supplying the royal coffers, and to effect, as the price of all such contributions, a confirmation of popular rights, and a proportionate redress of the more pressing grievances. So necessary, too, had this branch of policy become, that, while the bringing of it into action thus prominently, was the deed of an ambitious nobleman, under the extorted sanction of a captive king, no monarch in any succeeding period could wisely venture to dispense with parliaments so constituted, or even to abridge their influence. When the sceptre had passed from the hand of Henry III. to the firmer grasp of Edward I., there was no inclination in the sovereign to submit to the delays or the control inseparable from these popular assemblies; nor was there any want of energy to attempt the breaking of such bonds, had there been the least room to hope, that its exercise would have been successful. But it was in vain to cherish the usual propensities of the powerful. It was in vain that the Pope absolved the dissatisfied monarch from all his oaths respecting Magna Charta, and urged him to exert the despotic authority of his predecessors. Under the English Justinian, (for so this prince has been somewhat extravagantly styled,) our representative system became more defined, more

regular in its operations, and more successful as the shield of the people in their battles with the agents of arbitrary power. The disquietudes which were commensurate with the reign of Edward II., and which ended so fatally with respect to that prince, illustrate the evil and the power of those factions which were constantly forming among the national aristocracy; and shew the importance of that rising influence on the part of the Commons, which was to operate as a check, sometimes on the violences of the Nobles, and sometimes on those of the Crown. The statute of the fifteenth year of Edward II. must not be passed over, as it not only states with much distinctness, what was then regarded as the proper constitution of parliament, but shews how little the men of that age were disposed to leave any part of their interests at the mercy of a court. It also shews, that the men who have been hanged for purloining the property of others, are very few when compared with those who have deserved it. The words of the statute are these:—‘ The matters to be established for the estate of the King and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, should be treated, accorded, and established in parliament, by the King, and by the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm, according as had been before accustomed.’*

Over the reign of Edward III., the lover of English legislation and liberty must linger with peculiar delight. During the fifty years through which that monarch filled the throne, more than that number of parliaments, including their duly elected knights and burgesses, was convened. And though the nation was not a little intoxicated by the chivalrous doings of royalty at Cressy and Poictiers, the parliaments of that reign were careful to leave to future times the statutes, and a long line of precedents, which declare that the subject is not to be taxed without his consent, and that every enactment affecting the interests of all, should derive its validity but from the sanction of all. Trial by jury had long shed its wholesome influence over the minds of the people; and from the period when the great council of the nation was made to include the representatives of the commons, they proceed, in the language of Mr. Hallam, ‘ by slow and cautious steps to remonstrate against public grievances, to check the abuses of administration, and sometimes to chastise public delinquency in the officers of the crown. A number of remedial provisions are added to the statutes; every Englishman learns to remember that he is the citizen of a free state, and to claim the common law as his birthright,

* Report of the Lords' Committee on the Dignity of a Peer. 1819. p. 282.

'even though the violence of power should interrupt its enjoyment.' We fully agree with this dispassionate writer in regarding it as a strange misrepresentation of history, to describe the constitution of this country as having attained any thing like a perfect state in the fifteenth century. But we also agree with him in doubting, 'whether there are any essential privileges of our countrymen, any fundamental securities against arbitrary power, so far as they depend upon positive institutes, which may not be traced to the time when the House of Plantagenet filled the English throne.'*

But the reign of Henry VII. was preceded by a storm which sent no common desolation abroad, and was itself a calm scarcely less pregnant with evil. When the wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster had ceased, the English aristocracy presented the mere wreck of its former greatness. Nor has the bold and active genius which once animated that body ever returned to it. The contest, accordingly, between the sovereign and the subject, was gradually transferred from the men who boasted of their descent from the barons of Runnemede, and who had derived their power chiefly from the sword, to the representatives of the mass of the people, and who became possessed of their political influence, as the consequence of that industry which had long been applied to agriculture, and manufactures, and commerce. But, as the means of replenishing the royal treasury had formed the principal source of their legislative power, it could hardly escape the cautious policy of Henry VII., that prudence might possibly secure that independence of the commons, which had been effected by the sword with respect to the lords. Hence, the avoidance of all unnecessary expenditure became a marked feature of his government, and of his personal conduct. It may be, as stated by Mr. Hallam, that this monarch did not extend the authority of the crown much beyond the point at which it had been left by Edward IV. But the reign of that sovereign is admitted to have been, in some respects, the most reckless of public liberty in our annals; and to persevere in copying such an example, required all that attention to business, that unvarying frugality, and perhaps that habitual suspicion, which became so conspicuous in the measures of the victor at Bosworth. Nor would even these precautions have been enough, had not the crisis been such as to prepare the people for submitting to almost the worst evils of peace, as an exchange for those of war. Yet, at the accession of Henry VII., the English parliament consisted, with the exception of mitred abbots, of its present members.

* Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Vol. III. p. 310.

By the authority of that assembly alone, could any new tax be levied, or any new law be imposed. Without a legal warrant specifying the offence, no man could be committed to prison; and by means of the regular sessions or gaol-delivery, a custom having almost the force of constitutional right, every such man must be speedily brought to trial. In criminal cases, the accused party was to be tried on the spot, where the offence was alleged to be committed, and was to be convicted but by the unanimous verdict of a jury. Civil rights, so far as they related to questions of fact, were subject to the same decision. To a jury, also, every complaint was submitted, which referred to an infringement on personal liberty, or other right of the subject, on the part of the officers of the crown; nor could the damages so assessed, or the criminal penalties which were sometimes so awarded, be avoided by any plea of warrant, nor even of direct instruction from the sovereign.

That these important securities were all provided by law, might be easily shewn. But it is at the same time certain, that those which related to personal liberty, were frequently invaded, as the possession of power afforded the prospect of impunity. With respect, however, to taxation, it is worthy of remark, that, for nearly a century previous to the time of Henry VII., no attempt had been made by any English king, to impose a pecuniary burden without consent of parliament. It is true, that several princes had resorted of late to what were called benevolencies, by which is meant, a sort of compulsory loan. But under Richard III., the custom was abolished with much indignation.

And it should be remembered, that even that practice, if it supposed, that to borrow from the opulent, might in cases of emergency be the wisdom of Government, implied quite as distinctly, that to tax the community at large was the province of parliament. The following passage from Mr. Hallam, respecting the state of the prerogative, up to the period at which his narrative begins, is worthy of attention.

‘ It may not be impertinent to remark in this place, that the opinion of such as have fancied the royal prerogative under the Houses of Plantagenet and Tudor to have had no effectual or unquestioned limitations, is decidedly refuted by the notorious truth, that no alteration in the general laws of the realm was ever made, or attempted to be made, without the consent of parliament. It is not surprising that the council, in great exigency of money, should sometimes employ force to extort it from the merchants, or that servile lawyers should be found, to vindicate these encroachments of power. Impositions, like other arbitrary measures, were particular and temporary, prompted by rapacity, and endured by compulsion. But if the kings of England had been supposed to enjoy an absolute authority, we should find some

proofs of it in their exercise of the supreme function of sovereignty, the enactment of new laws. Yet there is not a single instance, from the first dawn of our constitutional history, where a proclamation or order of council has dictated any change, however trifling, in the code of private rights, or in the penalties of criminal offences. Was it ever pretended that the king could empower his subjects to devise their freeholds, or to levy fines of their entailed lands? Has even the slightest regulation as to judicial procedure, or any permanent prohibition even in fiscal law, been ever enforced without statute? There was indeed a period later than that of Henry VII., when a control over the subject's free right of doing all things not unlawful, was usurped by means of proclamations. These however seem always temporary, and did not affect to alter the established law. But though it may be difficult to assert that none of this kind had ever been issued in rude and irregular times, I have not observed any under the kings of the Plantagenet name, which evidently transgress the boundaries of their legal prerogative.' Vol. I. pp. 4, 5.

The evil of those times did not consist in the existence of a formidable body questioning the legislative power of parliament, or denying its right to control the public purse; but rather in the frequent subservience of courtiers and officers to the will of the monarch, when disposed to corrupt the administration of justice, and to trample upon private rights. Still, while the Court of Exchequer exercised its authority with respect to all suits relating to the property of the crown, the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, by means of the travelling judges, extended the various benefits of the same system of jurisprudence from the courts at Westminster to those of every county in the kingdom. Juries might be intimidated in particular cases, and judges might be bribed; but the law was generally explicit and good, and required the strictest integrity from both. It is to be observed, too, as a principal cause of the power retained by Henry VII., that his exactions rarely fell on the poorer classes. But for this exception, the unwarrantable aids which he so frequently and so variously extorted from the opulent, could never have been obtained. It was impossible, however, that such a course should be patiently submitted to; and, as the coffers of the sovereign were enriched, his popularity declined. Empson and Dudley, the tools of his oppressions, were to die the death of traitors. But it is a little remarkable, that the man whose history is a ceaseless disclosure of refined and cold-blooded selfishness, reaching to the sale of every office at his disposal, however sacred, even of his clemency itself,—should not only be described by some writers as a profound politician, but as meditating the happiness of future generations!

But if Henry VII. made his parsimony subservient to his power, his successor contrived to be at the same time tyrannical and extravagant. The vanity of kings has generally taught

them to consider every restraint imposed on them by their people, as so much taken from their proper dignity; and there is much reason to conclude, that the degree in which the influence of the parliament of England exceeded that of the states-general in France, was viewed as a matter of reproach by Wolsey and his master. It is indeed true, that no one among our kings has conceded so much in words to the power and dignity of parliaments, as Henry VIII.; but it is equally true, that no one of them has more completely trampled on whatever can render such assemblies worthy of existence. If obedience, at the cost of every patriotic, and often of every humane sentiment, could deserve the praise of loyalty, the parliaments of that monarch might assuredly claim it. It will be admitted, that, by connecting the formalities of a parliamentary grant with the established impost called tonnage and poundage, soon after the king's accession, they adopted a precedent important to future times; and that, in one or two other instances, the degree of their opposition to the encroachments of despotism would lead us to suppose, that all hopeful feeling had not forsaken them. But when the members of such conventions could remain silent, while their countrymen of every class were pillaged at the bidding of the king; when they could deliberately put their sanction to a breach of faith and a costly fraud openly committed by the sovereign on his subjects; when, at his suggestion, they could send either his ministers or his wives, whose power of pleasing him had failed, to the dungeon and the scaffold, sometimes even without the form of trial; when, on learning his disposition to put the royal will in place of law, they could resolve that he might do so; and when, as the Defender of the Faith began to modify his creed, they could fashion their own to be precisely like it, blessing whom he blessed, and cursing whom he cursed;—there was surely in all this, what may well mantle the cheek of every Englishman with a blush, as he reflects that some portion of blood so base, has perchance found its way into his veins. Mr. Hallam has ventured to describe this reign, so memorable in English history, as 'detestable'; and he concludes his account of it with the following just observations.

'A government administered with so frequent violations, not only of the chartered privileges of Englishmen, but of those still more sacred rights which natural law hath established, must have been regarded, one would imagine, with just abhorrence, and with earnest longings for a change. Yet contemporary authorities by no means answer to this expectation. Some mention Henry, after his death, in language of eulogy; and if we except those whom attachment to the ancient religion had inspired with hatred toward his memory, very few appear to have been aware, that his name would descend to pos-

terity, among those of the many tyrants and oppressors of innocence whom the wrath of Heaven has raised up, and the servility of men has endured. I do not indeed believe, that he had really conciliated his people's affection. That perfect fear which attended him, must have cast out love. But he had a few qualities that deserve esteem, and several which a nation is pleased to behold in its sovereign. He wanted, or at least did not manifest, in any eminent degree, one usual vice of tyrants, dissimulation; his manners were affable, and his temper generous. Though his schemes of foreign policy were not very sagacious, and his wars either with France or Scotland, productive of no material advantages, they were uniformly successful, and retrieved the honour of the English name. But the main cause of the reverence with which our forefathers cherished this king's memory was, the share he had taken in the Reformation. They saw in him, not indeed the proselyte of their faith, but the subverter of their enemies' power; the avenging minister of Heaven, by whose arm the giant chain of superstition had been broken, and the prison gates burst asunder.' Vol. I. pp. 38, 39.

It is easy to perceive, that a religious reformation effected by such a monarch, or under the sanction of parliaments such as were convened in that age, would not be of the purest kind, and would not be attempted by the use of the purest means. The faith of Henry, from the period of dissolving his connexion with the papacy, cannot be regarded as that of any considerable number among his people. His protestant subjects were generally more protestant than himself; while, in the view of the partisans of Rome, his separation from the See of St. Peter, must have been a deadly sin. It is remarked by Lord John Russell, that Henry pleased himself with the notion of maintaining the faith of Rome, when he had shaken off the supremacy of its chief; and that the sanguinary law of Six Articles, which forms the creed last imposed by him on his people, includes all the leading tenets of Romanism. Those laws taught the doctrine of transubstantiation; sanctioned the practice of communion in one kind; declared the marriage of the clergy to be contrary to the law of God; enjoined the observance of all vows of chastity; affirmed the custom of auricular confession to be expedient and necessary; and urged the use of private masses, as agreeable to Scripture and beneficial to the souls of men. Thus far only had the royal mind advanced; and to believe either more or less than its infallibility was thus pleased to announce, was to become in the same degree criminal. Hence, the same hurdle conveyed to their common fate, the Protestant who denied the tenet of transubstantiation, and the Romanist who disputed the king's supremacy.

But, while it was always evident, notwithstanding some slight variations in his creed, that the king's separation from the papacy was simply from its political power, and not from those superstitions by means of which that power had been secured;

the act of disunion was a bold deed, and was to become the parent of momentous results. We may regret that the prerogative, already too little restrained, should have had that supremacy engrafted upon it, which had been so long and so injuriously conceded to the popes. But it should be remembered, that with this event, the dissolution of the monasteries is connected. Apart from that measure, the spiritual peers must have continued to out-number the secular, and must have remained a formidable barrier to the cause of civil liberty in the upper house; rendering a legal establishment of the Reformed faith next to impossible. The whole of that influence which estates amounting to at least a fifth of the kingdom, must have yielded, was thus transferred from hands bound to employ it in favour of popery, to others equally bound to place it in the opposite scale. The tendencies of the blow were seen by the clergy, and their spirit fell. The overthrow of the monastic establishments has been the theme of bitter lamentation with most of our antiquaries; but their sorrow must be allowed to bespeak their imperfect discernment, or, what is perhaps more probable, their imperfect protestantism.

The following is Lord John Russell's succinct account of the Protestant controversy under Edward VI. and Queen Mary.

' The actual Reformation in England was the work of the Duke of Somerset, Protector in the early part of the reign of Edward VI. In the first year of that reign, he sent visitors to persuade the people not to pray to saints, to procure that images should be broken, and to exhort the nation generally to leave off the use of the mass, dirges, and prayers in a foreign language. By act of parliament, in the same year, he prohibited speaking against giving the sacrament in both kinds: in that and the two following years, he established the liturgy of the Church of England. The law of the Six Articles was repealed. The Reformation in England was thus made by the crown and the aristocracy. The people, though agitated by religious disputes, seemed to have been hardly ripe for so great a revolution. Insurrections of a serious nature took place in Devonshire, Norfolk, and elsewhere. The preaching of the Roman Catholic priesthood produced so strong an impression, that all the means of authority were put in motion to counteract it. The clergy were first ordered not to preach out of their parishes without a license, which of course was granted only to the favoured sect; and this not proving sufficient, preaching was altogether prohibited.—A singular step in the history of the Reformation !

' On the other hand, Mary, on succeeding to the throne, found it an easy matter to revive the ancient worship. Nor did she hesitate to call frequent new parliaments, who each went beyond the former in the road of reconciliation. The first refused to re-establish the law of Six Articles; but only one year afterwards, the nation was formally reconciled to the Church of Rome, and the parliament thanked the Pope for pardoning their long heresy. He said, with equal candour and truth, that he ought to thank them for putting a rich country again under his dominion.' pp. 41—43.

It will appear from the few remarks we have to offer, that we do not consider this statement as strictly accurate in all its particulars. The repeal of the law of Six Articles under Edward, left the clergy at liberty to marry. According to Archbishop Parker, twelve thousand in that order availed themselves of this freedom; but Burnet reduces the number to a fourth of that amount, and is no doubt nearer the truth. The hands of the laity, whom the 'new learning' had enriched, were thus strengthened by an influential party, who were equally prepared to admit the force of the reasonings usually employed by the Protestant advocate. Mr. Hallam has stated the particulars of the Reformation under Edward with much clearness, but certainly with no partiality to the men who conducted it. We regret the evident bias of his mind to distrust the ardour which is evinced in favour of a religious object. Such persons seem to be generally regarded by him as either deceivers, or deceived*. Thus much is not always affirmed of such parties, but this is the impression which his cold and dubious language is adapted to leave on the mind. It will not be supposed, that Edward's, or rather Cranmer's Reformation, is an immaculate affair in our esteem. We deplore the violence manifested by the people, and still more, that it should have been sanctioned by the Government; and we believe that, among its leading agents, there was very much of frailty, and perhaps not a little of rapacious crime. But, that there was a body of good men concurring in those proceedings, and that there were many generous motives concurring to the same end, is with us something more than a matter of credence; and some prominence should have been given to these, in a narrative purporting to exhibit the *character* of that important revolution.

We have been somewhat at a loss to understand Mr. Hallam's meaning in the section which refers to those discussions

* We use the word *generally*, because some faint exceptions do occur. But we must gravely ask Mr. Hallam, why the doctrine of justification by faith, which, upon his own shewing, was allied to every thing commanding in piety and intelligence in Hooker, must be the offspring of a presumptuous fanaticism in Luther? This insinuation too is pure truth and charity, when compared with an angry note, in which Knox and his compeers are disposed of under the mild and tasteful designation of 'blood-thirsty bull-dogs.' We are no apologists for the violence of Knox or of his copyists; but we really think, that, all circumstances considered, the conversation of the Scottish Reformer which provoked this severity, was hardly more censurable than is the conduct of his censor. We wish not, however, to mistake bursts of feeling for expressions of character, either in the dead or the living.

concerning the Eucharist, by which the Reformers of that age were not a little bewildered. Four principal theories are adverted to as then broached; and on the first of these, so memorable in the history of the Papacy, it is remarked:—

‘ The doctrine (Transubstantiation) does not, as vulgarly supposed, contradict the verdict of the senses, since our senses can report nothing as to the unknown being which the schoolmen denominated substance, and which was alone the subject of the conversion.’

Had this hypothesis been devised by some modern ‘ Doctor of Divinity’, we believe that Mr. Hallam would have disposed of it with that easy contempt which he has shewn for that order of persons. It certainly is not true, that the Being which the schoolmen denominated substance, is so strictly unknown, as to be beyond the reach of a verdict from the senses. The language of the hierarchy on this point, has been rendered studiously definite; declaring, that the substance of the bread and wine is converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ. Now with respect to the real and entire body and blood of Christ, the senses surely have their verdict to give, and one that will not be suspended, when a human being is called upon to recognize a substance of that quality and of that quantity in the priestly wafer. Thus definite, thus grossly, monstrously definite, is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church; and as to any private subtleties invented by solitary schoolmen, they are matters with which the Protestant controve&rtist has nothing to do. The jargon of those disputants respecting what they call the primary and secondary properties of matter, is about as unintelligible as the dogma to which it is applied, and does nothing toward explaining it.

Mr. Hallam professes, that he does not see how errors with respect to the Eucharist should have any influence on the moral conduct of men, or even on the general nature of their faith; and he deems it a matter worthy of special observation, that the denial of Transubstantiation should have been made the test of orthodoxy so generally in the early stages of the Reformation. There is a ‘ Doctor of Divinity’, for whom Mr. Hallam and some others will probably entertain a more cordial respect when they know him better, who will explain this mystery, though his own times were two centuries earlier than those of Cranmer. Wycliffe, adverting to the zeal of his contemporaries in support of this unintelligible dogma, describes it as the product of Satan, and represents the arch-fiend as musing thus with himself:—
 ‘ Should I once so far beguile the Church by aid of Anti-christ
 ‘ my vicegerent, as to persuade them to deny that this sacra-
 ‘ ment is bread, and to induce them to regard it merely as an
 ‘ accident, there will be nothing then which I may not bring them

*'to receive, since there can be nothing more opposite to the Scriptures or to common discernment.'** It was the determination of the priesthood, not to relinquish a jot of their empire; and it was natural that their pressing questions should relate to tenets which were at once the offspring and the stay of their ascendancy.

With respect to the state of the civil constitution under the youthful Edward and his sanguinary successor, it may be said, that most of the old evils remained. The power of the Crown was certainly less, but a greater licence was assumed by the court factions. The influence of the Commons, however, was obviously extending. A statute obtained by the lower house under Edward, to divest the law of treason of that barbarous laxity which the merciless tyranny of his father had given to it, bespoke the increase of their authority, of their wisdom, and of their moral feeling. Nor is it strictly true, as stated by Lord John Russell, that Mary 'found it an easy matter to revive the 'ancient worship'; nor, as stated by Mr. Hallam, that she succeeded, as the first of her dynasty, in laying a tax on cloth without consent of parliament. That tax was introduced to prevent an evasion of what had been legally imposed on the material in a different state. It must be admitted, however, that so important a modification of the law ought to have proceeded from the legislature, and not from the court. With respect to the restoration of popery, it is affirmed by Noailles, the French ambassador during the reign of Mary, that a third of the House of Commons opposed the repeal of Edward's laws concerning religion. Sixteen days were occupied in what the Queen herself describes as contention, sharp disputes, and great labour, before that object could be achieved. The counties also of Norfolk and Suffolk, which placed her on the throne, and which, in the language of Mr. Hallam, 'experienced from her the usual ingratitude and good faith of a bigot', were chiefly Protestant. The discontent excited by her treachery and cruelty, was so far augmented by her marriage with Philip, and by the general decline of the kingdom, that, before her death, the national sentiment became changed. The hereditary aversion to France, had given place to an abhorrence of Spain; and a war with the latter kingdom became popular through several generations, because considered as an attack on the strong-hold of papistry. Her first two parliaments were dissolved for refusing compliance with her wishes; the third was far from being altogether submissive; and the old method of securing a majority for the court in the lower house by reviving decayed boroughs, and by en-

* See the Speeches of Hakewell and Yelverton, Howell, II. 407—519.

franchising others, was resorted to more freely by Mary, than by any one of her predecessors.

Hence, though the religion of the most enlightened in that age retained but too much of the old leaven, and though many causes of necessity operated to keep a large, and especially the agricultural portion of the people attached to the semi-paganism of their forefathers, we are still disposed to think, that the restoration of Popery under Mary, was a work of quite as much difficulty as the re-establishment of Protestantism under Elizabeth. On the accession of the latter princess, the prelates who had gone round with so many changes, and who had been so active in the recent persecutions, discovered some sense of decency, by declining a renewal of their protest against Rome. But the new queen soon became sensible that the loss of the Bishops was more than supplied by the zeal and unanimity of the Commons. Indeed, it is hardly to be questioned, that the means employed by the Marian party to render the Catholic ascendancy complete and perpetual, were to be the principal cause of the overthrow which so speedily followed, and of that bondage in which their descendants had been so long and so easily retained.

During the long reign of Elizabeth, laws of increasing severity were enacted against them; not that their power had increased, for that declined regularly with every year of her influence; but, as the inadequacy of their own resources became more evident, they resorted with greater constancy and desperation to the business of intrigue with foreign powers, and to all those artifices which elude the usual machinery of governments. Mr. Hallam remarks, that

* The restraints and penalties by which civil governments have at various times thought it expedient to limit the religious liberties of their subjects, may be arranged in something like the following scale. The first and slightest degree, is the requisition of a test of conformity to the established religion, as the condition of exercising offices of civil trust. The next step is to restrain the free promulgation of opinions, especially through the press. All prohibitions of the open exercise of religious worship appears to form a third and more severe class of restrictive laws. They become yet more rigorous, when they afford no indulgence to the most private and secret acts of devotion or expressions of opinion. Finally, the last stage of persecution is to enforce, by legal penalties, a conformity to the established church, or an abjuration of heterodox tenets. The statutes of Elizabeth's reign comprehend every one of these progressive degrees of restraint and persecution. And it is much to be regretted, that any writers worthy of respect should, either through undue prejudice against an adverse religion, or through timid acquiescence in whatever has been enacted, have offered for this odious code, the false pretext of political necessity. That necessity, I am persuaded, can never be made out; the statutes were in

many instances absolutely unjust, in others not demanded by circumstances, in almost all prompted by religious bigotry, by excessive apprehension, or by the arbitrary spirit with which our government was administered under Elizabeth.' Vol. I., pp. 180—182.

It is always pleaded by the apologists for these enactments, that they were never intended to be generally enforced. But Mr. Hallam is disposed to doubt, whether persons known to have offended against them were often allowed to escape. This writer has also animadverted upon the representation made by such apologists, that the persons whose adherence to the doctrine of the Pope's deposing power brought them to the block, suffered, not on account of religion, but because guilty of treason. It certainly is one thing, to believe that a sovereign ought not to be allowed to reign, and another, to become active with a view to deprive him of his throne. The act is the proper object of human legislation; the sentiment is not; and a mind of ordinary discernment and ingenuousness will be in no danger of confounding the one with the other. Still, it ought not to be forgotten, that, in this case, the connexion between the thought and the deed is so intimate as to be almost inevitable.

Nor is it in her conduct towards the Roman Catholics alone, that the Virgin Queen has left her admirers some serious difficulties to explain. Her policy in relation to the Puritans, has preferred a much larger demand on their ingenuity. She was the adversary of both; and nothing but their unconquerable aversion to each other could have saved her from the control of their united strength. It would be idle to pretend, that there was any comparison to be made between the loyalty of the two parties; but, unfortunately, the Puritans, who were the chief stay of her throne as a Protestant sovereign, were less the object of her favour than the partisans of Rome. The latter, amid all their conspiracies against her, appear to have possessed some qualities which linked them in a closer degree with her sympathies. According to one class of writers, the case of the Puritans is very simple, and in no way disreputable to her Majesty. The Queen, we are told, was not only a sincere Protestant, but was prepared to brave the greatest dangers in the cause of the Reformation. Her conduct with respect to the church, was the wisest that could have been adopted, as it consulted the prejudices and the claims of the whole, in preference to those of a part. The Puritan theory, on the contrary, was by no means suited to the general aspect of religious parties; and as their object was not the mere toleration of their own peculiarities, but their exclusive establishment by the sword of the magistrate, the conduct of the Queen and of the prelates, in allowing them to indulge their humour for a considerable time, is worthy of the highest praise. And if other measures were at length had recourse

to, it was not until disorders which threatened the overthrow both of the church and the constitution, had rendered them necessary as the means of self-preservation.

Such is the substance of Bishop Maddox's reply to Neal. The reader is accordingly to believe, that the Queen, and Parker, and Whitgift, were very lenient, harmless people; and that nothing but the most insolent and seditious conduct on the part of the dissatisfied, could have brought upon them that coercive discipline which was so foreign to the nature of the rulers. But to this tissue of sophistry and falsehood, we could reply, that if the sincerity of Elizabeth's protest against the political delinquencies of Popery is admitted, her dissent from any thing very material in its theology and modes of worship, may be seriously doubted; and that to swell the number and power of the Catholics at the period of her accession, and to represent the Puritans as a small and feeble party, is an old artifice, and one which betrays either the Bishop of Worcester's want of information, or his indifference to truth. It may also be safely affirmed, that the fixed Protestantism of the more efficient, if not of the more numerous portion of the people, at that crisis,—of many in the first council of the Queen, and of others among the more influential of the scholars and clergy,—was such as to call aloud for a more complete reformation; and accordingly, that the almost retrograde movement of the Anglican church under Elizabeth, when compared with its state under Edward, and its very imperfect renovation in most things, when compared with the reformed churches of the Continent, are not to be traced to the temper of the times, but to the temper of the Queen; aided as it was by the pontifical power involved in her supremacy, and by the timidity of certain dignified ecclesiastics and statesmen, who, to avoid the frown of their mistress, proved unfaithful to themselves. The prayer of the Puritans, too, was not for the establishment of their peculiarities, but generally, that observances which their opponents admitted to be indifferent, might not be insisted on as necessary. During the first seven years of Elizabeth, the reasonableness of this claim was indirectly acknowledged. But, at the close of that period, all connivance was abandoned, and the ominous character which the controversy subsequently assumed, arose principally from the measures which were then adopted. The doctrine of the prelates respecting the church of Rome, as being a true church of Christ, came to be regarded with suspicion, and at length with abhorrence; the practice of appealing to the Scriptures as a rule of faith only, and not as a directory of discipline, was more loudly censured; the statute which had vested a single person with power to decide, through the aid of certain commissioners, on all articles of faith and all matters of ecclesiastical

tical regulation, for a whole kingdom, proved increasingly unpalatable ; and finally, the disposition evinced to regard the age of Constantine as presenting a better model of Christian polity and worship than that of the Apostles, excited a more manifest indignation, and produced a settled conviction, that the battle to be fought was for the institutions of Heaven as opposed to the devices of men, and for the liberties of the Christian church as assailed by the despotism of the civil power. Referring to the period when the persecution of the Puritan clergy began, Mr. Hallam remarks :

‘ The advocates of a simpler ritual had by no means assumed the shape of an embodied faction, whom concessions, it must be owned, are not apt to satisfy, *but numbered the most learned and distinguished portion of the hierarchy.* Parker stood nearly alone on the other side ; but alone, more than an equipoise in the balance, through his high station, his judgement in matters of policy, and his knowledge of the queen’s disposition.’ Vol. I. pp. 192, 193.

Mr. Hallam thus concludes his observations on the Puritan controversy during this period.

‘ The best apology that can be made for Elizabeth’s tenaciousness of those ceremonies, which produced this fatal contention, I have already suggested, without much express authority from the records of that age ; viz., the justice and expediency of winning over the Catholics to conformity, by retaining as much as possible of their accustomed rites. But, in the latter period of the queen’s reign, this policy had lost a great deal of its application, or, rather, the same principle of policy would have dictated numerous concessions in order to satisfy the people. It appears by no means unlikely, that, by reforming the abuses and corruptions of the spiritual courts, by abandoning a part of their jurisdiction, so heterogeneous and so unduly obtained, by abrogating obnoxious and at best frivolous ceremonies, by restraining pluralities of benefices, by ceasing to discountenance the most diligent ministers, and by more temper and disinterestedness in their own behaviour, the bishops would have palliated to an indefinite degree that dissatisfaction with the established scheme of polity, which its want of resemblance to that of other Protestant churches must more or less have produced. Such a reformation would have contented at least those reasonable and moderate persons who occupy sometimes a more extensive ground between contending factions than the zealots of either are willing to believe or acknowledge.’ Vol. I. p. 242.

It should be added too, that, with the majority in the House of Commons, and even in the court of Elizabeth, the preservation of the Protestant religion was the object to which every other was subordinate ; and by such men, it was distinctly seen, where the strength of their great cause must be found, should that hour of danger come, which they were sometimes obliged to apprehend. The Queen, and such churchmen as Parker and

Whitgift, would have confided in the passive portion of the community, and in the conforming clergy, for the means of resistance at such a crisis; though, in the memory of that generation, they had more than once proved a broken reed. But wiser men viewed the Puritan modes of education and of public instruction, as forming the best security of Protestantism, by giving it that alliance with the conscience, which must form a people prepared to suffer in its cause. To crush these men, however, the Court of High Commission, and of the Star Chamber, employed all their engines of oppression. Yet, at the close of Elizabeth's reign, the Puritan clergy were known to be more numerous than ever, more protected by the attachment of the people, and, as a necessary consequence of the past, were suspected of greater hostility to the maxims of their rulers. On the mind of the Queen, the effect of resistance, whether more respectfully or more rudely sustained, was but to add to her resolve, that no will besides her own should model the devotions of her people.

The disputes between Elizabeth and her parliaments never rose so high, as when the Puritan members ventured to unveil the corruptions of the hierarchy, and to call for ecclesiastical reform. The Commons were more than once admonished, that matters of such high concernment must be reserved for wiser heads. But, whether they doubted the greater wisdom of the Queen and her commissioners, or whether they judged that the functions assumed by them, since they had emanated from themselves, were things which might be recalled, it is certain, that they were not to be readily silenced in relation to such topics. And it is also certain, that to these movements on the part of that body, adopted with a view to preserve the affairs of the civil and ecclesiastical state under the control of parliament, the nation is indebted for the whole freedom of its constitution. Such is the concession of enemies. But it is not true, as these enemies would insinuate, that the sacred fire of liberty was an element unknown in the land until the rise of the Puritans. The flame, indeed, had almost disappeared, but the embers were still sufficiently ignited to burst forth anew, when fanned by the zeal of men whose love of man and of their country, rose from their devotedness to that Being whose nature and laws embrace all that is great, and good, and generous. It was not theirs, to create the charter of English liberties; but, what was not less important, and scarcely less difficult, it was theirs to bring it from its concealment, to add greatly to its securities, and to augment its provisions, so as to check every novel encroachment of arbitrary power.

When we attribute these important acquisitions both of law and liberty to the influence of the Puritans, we of course use

that word in the larger meaning which the short-sighted policy of the orthodox early conferred upon it. The folly of persecutors in this respect would seem to be hereditary. During several centuries, every gleam of religious independence, or of devotion more enlightened than was sanctioned by the established priesthood, was, in the language of that order, a branch of Manicheism, or of the Paulician heresy; so that, after a time, such names became expressive of whatever was hopeful in the state of religion through the East or West. Subsequently, the term Vaudois obtained a still greater prevalence, as descriptive of all persons exhibiting any part of the same peculiarities. In this country, not only every devout adherent to the theological creed of Wycliffe, but the more moderate opponent of priestly usurpation, was long denounced as a Lollard; and from the accession of Elizabeth to the period of the Commonwealth, the court bestowed the name of Puritan, not only on all who appeared to believe the religion they professed, but on all who dared to plead for the liberty of the subject, and in consequence to oppose the projected tyranny of the church and the crown. The same observation will apply to the word Methodist; and in each of these instances, the prejudice which refused to distinguish between the obnoxious party and those who either slightly favoured their opinions, or shrunk from the odious office of oppressing them, has had its reward. The government of Elizabeth, as described by Mr. Hallam, is no very attractive matter; but his sketch will supply an admirable corrective to that of Hume. The men who wrung important concessions from the last of the Tudors, were to do much greater things under the first of the Stuarts.

The reign of James I. has been frequently noticed as the most insipid in our history. We are not exactly of that opinion. It was a period in which England fell grievously in the esteem of other states; but her commerce continued to extend, and her internal policy was advancing with firm and cautious steps. In the monarch, there was scarcely any thing to respect, much to pity, and still more to blame. It was his lot to be neither feared nor loved, and his people were right in considering him quite as defective in principle as in capacity for government. Two mistakes accompanied him to the throne; and, though every subsequent stage of his experience proved them to be mistakes, with an obstinacy characteristic of weak minds, he clung to them to the last. From the parliament, he continued to expect the submission which had been yielded to the arbitrary temper of his predecessor; and the Puritans he continued to regard as an inconsiderable body, whom it was very possible and very proper to put down. His reign accordingly is a continued broil; sometimes with the Puritan clergy,

and sometimes with their friends in the Commons; and it is remarkable for nothing so much as for the reiteration of the most tyrannical maxims on the part of the crown, and the equally bold assertion of constitutional rights on the part of the subject. The notices of this contest in the new Parliamentary History extend to nearly six hundred large and closely printed pages, and will amply repay the attention of the historical student. He will, perhaps, admire the mixture of firmness and decorum observable in the conduct of the patriot commoner in that reign, and may feel anew the charms of a cause which could attract to itself whatever was then regarded as venerable in learning, and whatever was generous in the improving character of the nation.

Charles inherited most of his father's prejudices, and with them, his incapacity for profiting by experience. His general ability was much superior to that of his predecessor. But, on his accession, the nation also had become more enlightened and conscious of its power. Buckingham, the favourite of Charles, as of his father, had succeeded in kindling a war between this country and Spain; and the event was not less agreeable to the new sovereign, than to most of his subjects. But, by adding to the pecuniary difficulties which that contest created, those which were inseparable from renewed hostilities with France, Charles became dependent on his parliaments, and exposed to the full force of temptations which he was least able to bear. His despotic temper, and the policy which least comported with its indulgence, were retained with equal pertinacity; and these together, will be found to constitute the clew to his sufferings and his fate. Our limits will not admit of following the writers before us in their account of the proceedings which led to the civil war. This part of the constitutional history has been managed with peculiar caution, and with an evident aim at impartiality. From the whole it appears, that the conspiracy of Charles and Strafford and Laud, to place the liberty and property of the subject at the sole disposal of the crown, is as little questionable as are the facts of any illegal combination in our history. Minds, indeed, there are, which regard the violation of law, when relating to the rights of the governed, as trivial; while any opposition to its provisions, when relating to the authority of the governing, is viewed as calling for the last degree of criminal penalty. We must confess, that we are far from being disciples of that 'monstrous creed'. *Rex sub Lege*, is a maxim of our constitution which had become venerable before the days of the Stuarts or of the Tudors. The justice, however, or the expediency of the measures adopted in the case of the illustrious offenders above named, are questions involving principles and facts which we have no space at present to examine.

But we must advert to the nature and extent of the religious motives which mingled with this memorable strife. It is by no means true, as some writers have assumed, that the men who opposed the encroachments of Charles and his bishops, down to the time of the civil wars, were mostly, or in any formidable degree, the enemies of monarchy or of episcopacy. That war was commenced, and was chiefly maintained, by men who were the friends of both. The bishops, by becoming the originators or the abettors of every thing tyrannical in the practices of the court, and by either meditating an actual return to the church of Rome, or wantonly lauding her dogmas and her worship, had rendered themselves the objects of jealousy among the patriotic and the truly protestant members of their own communion. Hence, in the judgement of the majority of the Commons, it was in every view important, to place some material restraints on the authority of that order. But unfortunately, when the power of the king and of the prelates was so far subdued as to render it wise to attempt this projected reform of episcopacy, the Presbyterian party had become sufficiently powerful to insist on the exclusive establishment of their polity. The Presbyterian model possessed but few adherents in this country, on the accession of the first of the Stuarts, but they had increased considerably at the commencement of the civil war; partly from the intercourse between this country and Scotland, and particularly from the attempt of James and Charles to force episcopacy on their subjects of the latter kingdom. This ill-judged scheme was the secret of all the disloyalty of the Scots during this period; and the whole of their assistance to the popular cause on this side the Tweed, was either as the means or the condition of extending the blessings of the Covenant from the north to the south.

But between the Episcopilians and the Presbyterians, whose war was to admit of no quarter, rose the numerous sects which the ferment of the age had produced, and to whom the Independents served as a sort of nucleus. And if we credit the most fashionable writers since the Restoration, we shall believe, that the republicanism which now began to appear in the State, arose purely from the progress of Independency in the Church; —that these appellations, in consequence, are but different names for the same party; a party, moreover, who, from gaining possession of the sword, contrived not only to break the power of the parliament, but to bring the king to the block. Such is the theory of Hume; but he should have known, and the hireling scribblers who copy his sayings should know, that the principle of congregational churches is more that of elective and limited monarchy, than of republicanism, and that all the positive and exclusive features of the latter system are more

nearly exemplified in the platform of presbyterianism.¹¹ Mr. Hume's learning should also have taught him, that republicanism, which has been so often embraced by the enemies of all Christianity, has flourished in connexion with every modification of it; as among the Catholics of Italy, the Lutherans of Switzerland, and the Presbyterians of the States-General. But the truth is, the Independents appear in English history as the first body who publicly defended the maxims of toleration; and as many, who were not of their religious creed, were united with them in favour of a common liberty, the policy which had reproached every devout man as a Puritan, soon branded every liberal man as an Independent. Thus, Lord John Russell describes the various parties opposed to the Presbyterians in 1648, and earlier, under the general name of Independents; and so does Dr. Lingard. But the latter writer has very properly informed his readers, that the designation, as so employed, should be understood as referring to a multitude of parties, religious and irreligious, some concerned for civil, and others for religious freedom. The apparent bulk of the Independents has thus ceased to be their real one; and if, among those who became classed with them in the manner now explained, were some who would have done honour to any cause, there were many who would as certainly prove its disgrace.

The Episcopalians refused to meet the divines at Westminster; and the only opposition experienced by the Presbyterian body who composed it, arose, to use the animated language of Dr. Lingard, from

'a small, but formidable band of independent clergymen, who, under the persecution of Archbishop Laud, had formed congregations in Holland, but had taken the present opportunity to return from exile, and preach the gospel in their native country. The point at issue between these two parties was one of the first importance, involving in its result the great question of liberty of conscience. — The weight of number and influence was in favour of the Presbyterians. They possessed an overwhelming majority in the assembly, the senate, the city, and in the army; the solemn league and covenant had enlisted the whole Scottish nation in their cause, and the zeal of the commissioners from the Kirk, who had also seats in the assembly, gave a new stimulus to the efforts of their English brethren. The Independents, on the contrary, were few, and could only compensate the paucity of their number, by the energy and talents of their leaders. They never exceeded a dozen in the assembly, but these were veteran disputants, eager, fearless, and persevering; whose attachment to their favourite doctrine had been riveted by persecution and exile, and who had not escaped from the intolerance of one church, to submit tamely to the control of another.'^{*}

* *History of England*, X. 273—275.

By this assembly, the book of Common Prayer was dispensed with, and the Presbyterian Directory established in its room; and the battle thenceforth to be fought, was with the sectaries, some of whom had so far shocked the piety of this ruling church, as to talk of toleration as due even to the papist. There were certain lawyers who were opposed, on legal grounds, to the Presbyterian discipline; and there were some among the gay and intemperate, who dreaded its inquisitorial restraints. But the men who objected to it on account of its exclusive and persecuting character, were the most formidable; and to these the army gradually became an asylum. To demolish that sanctuary of their political and religious antagonists was, ere long, the great object of the Presbyterians; and the clumsiness and injustice with which this was attended, chiefly occasioned their fall, and that of the parliament.

They had resolved in the Commons, that a large portion of the army should immediately be removed to Ireland; that the remainder should be reduced to the smallest possible number; that no officer, except Fairfax, should rank above colonel; and that no commission should be granted, except to such persons as should become parties to the 'league and covenant.' All this, too, was to be done without affording any security for considerable arrears of pay. So congenial to this self-perpetuated senate, and to these upstart Presbyters, had that despotism become, which, while exercised by a king and his bishops, was too monstrous to be endured. In opposing this return of the old tyranny under another and even a more despicable form, Cromwell was of course impelled by a selfish ambition, and, as a thing equally of course, was always a hypocrite; the body too with which he was connected, was actuated by all motives, save those of honesty and wisdom. But philosophical historians, like travellers, see strange things; and there is a cant they use, when speaking of religious parties, which betrays a self-complacent heartlessness that is quite as offensive to us as the ravings of Cromwell's fanatics, or of modern Methodism. Up to the period when their parliamentary advocates were obliged to make the camp their refuge, we know of nothing in the demands of the army, that should have been deemed unreasonable; while the conduct of their opponents was marked by a blindness and obstinacy, which precluded all hope of redress from that quarter. Their proposals to the king allowed the worshippers of the hierarchy, and the worshippers of the covenant, to bow down to their idols undisturbed, and merely claimed, that such as should choose to pay their homage to some higher object, might enjoy the same freedom. Nor was it until these proposals, and others equally moderate, had been rejected, and the conduct both of the king and of the parliament had been

such as to shew that they were neither of them to be trusted, that the temper of the army began to forebode the violence that followed. As to the king's trial, and its connexion with the Independents, we would remark, that it was opposed by several of their members in the senate, and was denounced from the pulpit by their preachers. Not more than two of their ministers can be shewn to have approved the measure, and their general character was by no means of a class with the majority. Among the persons constituting the high court of justice, a few only can be ascertained to have ranked with the Congregationalists. Indeed, it was hardly possible that such a step should have been wholly, or even chiefly, the work of that body, while the other sects, who vied with them in numbers, so far exceeded them in impetuosity. But to represent the sins of every wild fanatic or fierce republican as the true and natural fruit of Independency, is a convenient artifice, and one which, for various reasons, will continue to be fashionable.

We wish in vain for room to follow Mr. Hallam in his details relating to Cromwell. He has not, we think, made sufficient allowance for the peculiarity of the circumstances in which that extraordinary man was generally placed. It is not merely the good we do, but the evil we resist, that must determine the excellence of character; and if the character of Cromwell be regarded in this light, it will perhaps appear to the impartial, that few leaders of revolutions have been exposed to so many temptations, and yielded to so few. His virtues were spontaneous; his vices were the offspring of necessity. It may be, that he trampled on the institutions of the land, even more than the Stuart princes who succeeded him; but Mr. Hallam, who has noticed the fact, and with some warmth, must be aware, that the cases hardly admit of comparison. If the successors of Cromwell offended less, it was because their means were less, and because their abilities were immeasurably less. His violence was greater, and so was his patriotism. Hence, while the one made his country the terror of the nations, the other rendered her their scorn. He may have been as little scrupulous as they were in resorting to the aid of corruption and intrigue; but his object was generally to serve his country, theirs to degrade it; and what with him was self-preservation, with them was the lust of power. If the Usurper discarded the little of the constitution that was left, it was to substitute a magnanimous policy in its room; and if his successors affected a reverence for statutes, it was with a secret resolve to escape from their control, and that by any possible means. We abhor despotism under any form; but, if it must exist, let it be for the generous and the powerful, not for the selfish and the weak. And let it be in its own native garb, not under the

mockeries of law. Cromwell's worst deeds were almost virtues, when compared with the murder of Sir Harry Vane; the act of that grave personage Lord Clarendon, and of that merry personage his master.

The only improvement that should be made of this period of English history is, in the esteem of some writers, to shew the folly and disaster which must be found attendant on every project of reform, whether relating to the Church or to the State. It would seem a pity that any better birthright should have been wasted on such men, than would have befallen them under the first William. It is amusing also to observe the contradiction which this theory involves. The rude block to which our constitution under the Conqueror might be compared, has assumed the proportion and beauty which now distinguish it, as the progressive work of reformers; and it is in the same breath that we are told to admire the result, and to deprecate the agency which produced it. The fruit happens to be surpassingly excellent, but the tree which has borne it is "only evil." The offspring is celestial: the parents are infernal. Hence, before the one, we must bow down and worship; but the other, we must send unpitied to their own place! Surely the intelligence and the charity pervading this new species of philosophy, are worthy of the cause to which they are devoted.

Our parliamentary patriots under the Tudors and the Stuarts, entered into the labours of their predecessors under Henry III. and under the first and third Edwards; and if it were well, that, as the fruit of the revolution which placed William and Mary on the throne, there should have been a more grave and distinct recognition of the liberties of Englishmen; that the power of dispensing with the laws should be annihilated; that the judges should be no longer appointed at the sole pleasure of the crown; that liberty of conscience should be secured; that the union of Scotland with England should be effected; that provision should be made against the unlimited continuance of parliaments; that the liberty of the press should be established; that the laws relating to treason should be more equitably defined; and that the general administration of justice should be more certain and impartial:—if these are benefits, they are benefits resulting from that struggle which rose to its height under Charles I., and which, though retarded for a while by the disorders of its partizans, was to be renewed, and to be renewed successfully, because maintained on that vantage-ground to which the footsteps of those partizans had ascended.

A word on persecution, and we have done. Its folly and turpitude are illustrated at every step in the history both of our laws and of our religion. Catholicism, Episcopalianism, and Presbyterianism, have each in turn been ascendant, and all have

been persecuting. In the day of their power, they were successively admonished to forbear; but they refused to profit by either entreaty or rebuke, and they were brought in their turn to the feet of the persecuted. They proclaimed intolerance as a virtue; they practised what they taught; and they had their reward. Violence produced violence; and the parties who resorted to it most, were to suffer from it most. It was in the school of no common adversity, that those maxims of forbearance were acquired, which now influence the conduct of the secular and spiritual authorities of these kingdoms. They may have other lessons to learn: may they be wise to understand the signs of the times!

Art. II. *Essays on some of the Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul, and other Parts of the New Testament.* By Richard Whately, D.D. Principal of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, and late Fellow of Oriel College. 8vo. pp. 314. Price 9s. London, 1828.

THIS is a highly valuable and masterly work. On one or two points, we must deem the Author's conclusions erroneous; but taken altogether, these Essays have afforded us the highest gratification; and we cannot but think them admirably adapted to aid the advancement of genuine theological science. Science, to deserve the name, must consist of ascertained, indisputable facts, with their appropriate evidence. The Christian Faith is a system of facts made known to us by Revelation; and the evidence by which they are to be ascertained, is the inspired document. The proper business of the theologian, therefore, is to discover simply 'what is the truth, as declared by Divine Inspiration', in order to follow out the doctrine in its practical results. Such doctrines as are not revealed in Scripture, be they true or false, Dr. Whately justly remarks, constitute no part of the *Christian faith*. Systematic theology has, indeed, been made to comprise a wide range of subjects; not only the $\tauὸ\gammaνωστὸ\tauὸ\Thetaεὸ\tau$ of which St. Paul speaks (Rom. i. 19), but topics belonging strictly to the province of metaphysics, or what Dr. Whately terms theological philosophy. The consequence of thus mixing up the doubtful with the certain, the scholastic with the popular, the abstract and the speculative with the practical, has been to obscure both the evidence and the genuine character and claims of revealed truth. Now the first step towards bringing back theology to the simplicity of Scripture, is to separate the heterogeneous materials of human systems by the test to which Dr. Whately refers us, viz. the Scriptural evidence of the doctrine on the one hand, and, on the other, its practical result. Theology, properly so called, is the science of religion; religion itself consisting in the fear and love of God, and the remem-

brance of Him. Theology comprises that knowledge upon which this love and obedience must be founded,—the knowledge or faith that He is, and that He is the rewarder of him who diligently seeks Him. If this definition be correct, all true theology must be of a strictly popular character; popular, we mean, as opposed to scholastic or technical, like our Lord's teaching and the Scriptures themselves. Its office is to interpret Scripture; but, if the interpretation be more obscure than the text, or if it add to the document, it loses its proper character.

These remarks appear to us to have an important bearing upon the proper mode of teaching theology, whether in colleges, schools, or families. Our catechisms and systems have 'scripture proofs' attached to them; agreeably to the axiom, that the Church should *teach*, and the Scriptures *prove* the doctrines of Christianity. Nor do we mean to object against all such systematic expositions of Christian doctrine, considered as attempts to arrange the elements of religious knowledge according to the agreement of truth with itself. Without some such system, it is next to impossible to teach. But still, a system ought to be nothing more than an arrangement of those matters which the Scriptures teach. The 'proof' ought not to be a mere appendage to the dogma, but the comment should be strictly subordinate to the text. In other words, it is necessary that we should not only prove from Scripture, but teach by Scripture; and that not by detached passages, often violently accommodated, but by making the text the medium of instruction. A catechism ought to be a simple introduction to the Scriptures, not a technical vocabulary of dogmas. And with respect to the instruction of pupils of a larger growth, we cannot but regard those lectures as the best adapted to make good divines, which are either strictly introductory to the study of the New Testament, or subservient to the right interpretation of the inspired document. We rejoice to know, that this method of teaching divinity is coming into more general adoption; and we hail these Lectures, coming, as they do, from so high an authority, as an auspicious indication that a better theology is beginning to supersede, in our seats of learning, the vapid jargon of scholastic and polemic systems. The object of the Author has been, by pointing out the mode in which the Scriptures should be studied, and by laying down correct principles of interpretation, to facilitate the right interpretation of Scripture 'to those who are seeking in simplicity for Divine truths.'

The volume comprises nine essays upon the following topics: 1. On the Love of Truth. 2. On the Difficulties and Value of St. Paul's Writings generally. 3. On Election. 4. On Perseverance and Assurance. 5. On the Abolition of the Mosaic

Law. 6. On imputed Righteousness. 7. On apparent Contradictions in Scripture. 8. On the mode of conveying Moral Precepts in the New Testament. 9. On the Influence of the Holy Spirit.

The first essay treats, in an original and most instructive manner, what may be thought a trite subject. Dr. Whately begins by shewing, that the Christian religion is characteristically distinguished from Paganism, ' by its claim to Truth, as ' established by evidence, and its demand of Faith in that Truth.' Many persons may be ready to take for granted, that the question of true or false, must always have stood on the threshold of every inquiry respecting such a subject. But the fact is otherwise.

' The schools of the philosophers were a kind of intellectual palæstra; and there was a close analogy between their disputation, and the prevailing gymnastic contests: each was a *game*; the object of which was victory, without any ulterior end, but only for the display of strength and skill, bodily or intellectual. And the zealous cultivation of rhetoric, to which the majority of eminent men made all other studies subordinate, and whose most appropriate object is, not the discovery of truth, but the invention of arguments, could not but foster the prevailing disregard of truth. It seems, too, to have been the settled conviction of most of those who had the sincerest desire of attaining truth themselves, that, to the mass of mankind, truth was in many points inexpedient, and unfit to be communicated;—that, however desirable it might be for the leading personages in the world to be instructed in the true nature of things, there were many popular delusions which were essential to the well-being of society. And in the foremost rank of these they placed their popular *religions*. Their own notions respecting the Deity were totally unconnected with morality; and they despaired of imbuing the vulgar with the philosophical principles on which *they* made virtue to rest. They made it a point of duty, therefore, to testify by their example the utmost respect for the established religion; and to impress on the multitude that reverence for the gods, and dread of divine judgment on crimes, which they themselves in their own more private writings derided. They did not however seek to effect this object, (and this is a circumstance deserving of especial attention,) by undertaking to *prove the truth* of the popular religions. He who labours to prove, implies the possibility of doubt, and challenges inquiry; and they well knew that there was no evidence for the existing superstitions, which could satisfy doubts, or stand the test of inquiry. The only thing to be done, therefore, was to forbid all doubts as impious,—to suppress all inquiry; and, consequently, to forego even the practice of asserting the truth of the established systems. They were maintained as politically expedient, by the civil magistrates; whose appropriate instrument is not argument, but coercion; and who for the most part utterly disbelieved them, and were sensible that they could not be established by evidence, yet were convinced that they ought to be established by law. And as it is the na-

ture of legal enactments to produce, not belief, but merely outward conformity and submission, it was the inevitable result of this state of things, that the ideas of *religion* and of *truth*,—of pious demeanour, and of sincere belief,—should come to be completely disjoined in men's minds; and that they should even be somewhat startled at the very pretension to *truth as resting on evidence*, in any religion, and at the requisition of *faith* in it, on the ground of its truth. It was what they had never been used to. Philosophers of the most discordant tenets, poets of all descriptions, politicians and other men of business, amidst all the variety of their views and conduct, had always concurred in maintaining the popular religions, and in maintaining them on any other ground than that of truth: “The worship of the gods is an institution of our country;—these rites are venerable from their antiquity;—the neglect of them would argue disrespect for our ancestors, and contempt for the laws;—a respect for religion is useful for maintaining due subordination among the people:”—These, and such as these, were their arguments; and the conclusion accordingly drawn was, that every man *ought to worship* the gods according to the established institutions: truth, and belief in the truth, seem, in this matter, to have scarcely entered their minds.’ pp. 2, 6.

The just and manly sentiments incidentally introduced in this paragraph, respecting the all-important distinction between the force of evidence, and the operation of legal enactments, will not be overlooked by our readers. But we must pass on to our Author's illustration of the opposite feature of the Christian faith. In our Lord's reply to Pilate's question, as on all other occasions, he points out Truth as, in an especial manner, the characteristic of his religion: “If ye continue in my words, then are ye my disciples indeed, and ye shall know the Truth; and the Truth shall make you free.” “I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life.” “They that worship God, must worship Him in Spirit and in Truth.” “When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He shall guide you into all Truth.” “And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the Truth.”

His great adversary, on the other hand, is designated by Him as “a liar, and the father of lies.” And the apostles of Christ, in like manner, perpetually make use of the words “Truth” and “Faith” to designate the Christian religion. By all which, more, I conceive, was implied, than that the religion is true, and is the *only true one*, and that faith in it is required. In the present day, this would be implied by the very circumstance of preaching any religion; but, in those days, the very *pretension to truth*,—the very demand of faith, were characteristic distinctions of the Gospel. The Heathen mythology not only *was* not true, but was not even supported as true: it not only deserved no faith, but it demanded none. It was needful, therefore, to inform and remind men, not merely of the *strength* of the Gospel claims, but of the *nature* of those claims; to point out, not

only the force of the evidence in its favour, but its appeal to evidence.
pp. 7, 8.

The Author proceeds to point out the liability of Christians to act inconsistently with this characteristic of their religion, and the consequent necessity of a rigid self-examination on this point. He first clears the way by combating and routing the objections sometimes urged against the principle of universally propagating the truth. We cannot withhold the following admirable remarks.

‘ Another objection sometimes brought, not so much against the pursuit, as against the propagation of truth, is, that the minds of many men are incapable of rightly apprehending it ; that the attempt to teach some truths to such hearers as are not qualified for receiving them, and to remove some errors which they are not ripe for perceiving to be such, would only excite their disgust towards every thing they might hear from such instructors ; or that some might assent to what they heard, while they put the most mischievously false interpretation upon it ; or, lastly, that they might misapply even what they had rightly understood ; as persons ignorant of medicine often do mischief by administering, without judgment, some powerful remedy whose efficacy they have witnessed. Even thus, it may be said, will the unlearned, when they have been taught to reject some long-established error, proceed, when their minds are once unsettled, to reject well-grounded doctrines also ; and will apply the arguments by which they have been convinced in one case, to another, perhaps very different, (though they are incapable of understanding that difference,) so as to produce the most erroneous results.

‘ Accordingly, it is urged, our Lord himself and his Apostles abstained from teaching every thing at once to their hearers, because they “ were not as yet able to bear them : ” and even so important a doctrine as the extension of the Gospel to the Gentile world was not fully made known to the Apostles themselves, for several years after they had received their commission.

‘ All this is, in a certain sense, true ; and as far as it is true, is no contradiction of the principle I have laid down, but an application of it. For to teach any thing which, though in itself true, will inevitably be misunderstood by the hearers, is in reality to propagate not truth, but error ; and if our teaching has in any case a necessary tendency to lead a certain class of hearers into such mistakes as to other points, as we have no power to guard against, we are not enlightening, but leading them into darkness. If we were to suppose a case (to resort to an illustration I have elsewhere employed) of our informing a rustic that the sun stands still, while, for some reason or other, we had no means of teaching him that the earth turns round, he would evidently be more perplexed than instructed, and would be more than ever at a loss to understand the alternations of day and night.

‘ If then, on these principles, we withhold *for a time* some part of the Truth from those who are not yet able to bear it,—if we add “ line upon line, and precept upon precept ; here a little, and there a

little,"—striving gradually to qualify the learner for a more full communication;—if we labour patiently to wear away prejudices by little and little, when the attempt to eradicate them abruptly would be unsuccessful, or pernicious,—we are pursuing that method of inculcating truth which is sanctioned by Christ and his Apostles. But if we make the ignorance, weakness, or prejudice of men a plea for suppressing or disguising truth, or for conniving at error, without labouring at the same time to remove those obstacles;—if we are content to leave them *permanently* under the influence of delusion,—to postpone, *sine die*, as the phrase is, the communication of religious truths,—to wait *indefinitely* for some unforeseen favourable conjuncture which we make no exertions to bring about,—we are proceeding in direct contradiction to the spirit of the Gospel, and the example of its Author. "I have yet many things," said he, "to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now;" but he did, by his Spirit, gradually impart this knowledge to them afterwards; not to some subsequent generation, but to those very same individuals. "I have fed you with milk, and not with meat," says St. Paul, "for ye were not able to bear it; neither *yet* are ye able;" he evidently implies a hope that they (*i. e.* not some *future* generation, but those very individuals) *will* be able to bear it: nay, he is evidently reproaching them for not being already better qualified for the reception of divine Truth. Indeed, the very similitude of *babes*, of itself draws our attention, our hopes, and our endeavours, towards a progressive growth into manhood.' pp. 18—22.

The obstacles which impede our honest search for and discovery of truth, are next adverted to. 'It is one thing,' Dr. Whately remarks, 'to wish to have Truth on our side, and another thing, to wish sincerely to be on the side of Truth. *There is no genuine love of truth implied in the former.*' Among the prejudices or pre-occupant feelings which hinder the reception of truth, are enumerated,—the aversion to doubt or suspense, leading to the premature formation of opinions; the love of originality, heightened sometimes into the love of paradox; an excessive deference for venerated authority; and the tendency to look, in the first instance, to what is expedient. The Essay concludes with four cautionary maxims: 1. Not to allow ourselves either to advance or to countenance any argument which we know or suspect to be fallacious, however true the conclusion may be to which it leads: 'it is an affront put upon the Spirit of Truth.' 2. Not to countenance any erroneous opinion or delusion, however seemingly beneficial in its results. The temptation to depart from this latter principle, the Author remarks, is sometimes excessively strong; because, in parting with a long admitted error, men will sometimes be in danger of abandoning some truth that they have been accustomed to connect with it.

'Accordingly, I have heard censure passed on the endeavours to enlighten the Roman Catholics, on the ground that many of them had

become Atheists, and many, the wildest of fanatics. That this should be in some degree the case, is highly probable ; it is a natural result of the pernicious effects on the mind, of the Roman Catholic system ; it is an evil spirit, which we must expect will cruelly rend and mangle the patient as it comes out of him, and will leave him half dead at its departure.

‘ Again : the belief in the plenary inspiration of Scripture,—its being properly and literally the “Word of God,” merely uttered, or committed to writing by the sacred penmen, in the very words supernaturally dictated to them, and the consequent belief in its complete and universal infallibility, not only on religious, but also on historical and philosophical points,—these notions, which prevail among a large portion of Christians, are probably encouraged or connived at by very many of those who do not, or at least *did* not originally, in their own hearts, entertain any such belief. But they dread “the unsettling of men’s minds ;” they fear that they would be unable to distinguish what is, and what is not, matter of inspiration ; and, consequently, that their reverence for Scripture and for religion altogether would be totally destroyed ; while, on the other hand, the error, they urge, is very harmless, leading to no practical evil, but rather to piety of life.’

pp. 32—34.

Another caution (3.) relates to the suppression of any clearly revealed Gospel truth. ‘ God has not authorized man to suppress any part of what He has revealed ; and it is an impious presumption even to inquire into the expediency of such a procedure.’ And (4.), as we must not withhold or disguise revealed religious truth, so we must dread the progress of no other truth. This thorough-going, uncompromising love of truth, it is remarked, is very seldom admired, or liked, or even ‘understood, ‘except by those who possess it.’ It will often be censured as rash, extravagant, and excessive ; but it is a branch of Christian morals, most essentially involved in conformity to Him who is the Truth ; and upon its sedulous cultivation, depend the integrity of the intellect, and the true simplicity which is connected with godly sincerity.

The second Essay, on the Writings of St. Paul, is not less valuable. There appears to be a striking analogy, the Author remarks, between the treatment to which St. Paul was personally exposed, and that which his works have met with. Still may this apostle be said to stand, in his works, in the front of the battle. Dr. Whately lays the axe to the root of that still prevalent prejudice which leads many persons to deprecate or to neglect the inspired Epistles, as of authority inferior to what are called the Gospels. ‘ Jesus Christ,’ he remarks, ‘ did not ‘come to make a revelation, so much as to be the *subject* of a revelation’ ; and, ‘ the Christian faith is not merely to believe what ‘Christ taught, but to believe in Him.’ This is true, as regards Our Lord’s personal ministry ; although he must be considered

as the immediate *author* of that revelation which, subsequently to his ascension, was made to his apostles. Till they had received inspiration from on high, they were themselves imperfectly acquainted with the true doctrines of the Gospel. Those persons, therefore, who neglect their inspired preaching, and will learn nothing of Christianity, except what they find in the discourses of Jesus, are '*wilfully preferring an imperfect to a more complete revelation*, and setting their own judgement above 'that of the apostles.' They are thus, in fact, 'despising the 'teaching of the Holy Spirit, who led the apostles into all truth.' After exposing the perverse misapplication of the remark of St. Peter relative to St. Paul's writings, under which many would shelter themselves, who neglect or deprecate that portion of the Scriptures; Dr. Whately expresses his conviction, that the chief objection against them is grounded, not on the things *hard* to be understood which they contain, but on the things easy to be understood, and plainly taught;—that "by "grace we are saved",—that, "the *wages* of sin is death",— "but eternal life is the *gift* of God through Jesus Christ";—doctrines humbling to the pride of the human heart, and therefore unacceptable to the natural man.

' But the dislike shewn to St. Paul's writings, by those who on these grounds decry him, is a proof, if *he* was *inspired*, and they *uninspired*, not that *he* is wrong, but that *they* are. If the Gospel is against a man, he will be against the Gospel. And the more any work is depreciated by those who are resolved to believe only just what they please, the higher ought its value to rise in the estimation of those who are willing to obey the Scriptures.' p. 71.

These two Essays may be regarded as preliminary. In the third and fourth, the Author proceeds to treat of those doctrines, particular views of which have mainly contributed to the dread felt by many persons of St. Paul's writings. He has endeavoured to shew, that ' the doctrines in question, as taught 'by St. Paul, afford no just ground of alarm; and that the extravagant representation of them that some have given, has arisen 'from a hasty and partial view of the writings of this apostle.' With regard to the doctrine of Election, the three great questions on which the whole discussion turns, are: ' 1st. Whether 'the Divine election is *arbitrary*, or has respect to men's foreseen 'conduct; 2ndly, Who are to be regarded as the elect; and 3dly, 'In what does that election consist?' With respect to the first of these questions, Dr. Whately replies by shewing, that under the old dispensation, the Divine election was manifestly arbitrary, and that the election of the Christian Israel must rest upon the same absolute and spontaneous mercy. And this analogy supplies, he thinks, the proper answer to the second question also.

What was the nature of this election of the Israelites? To what were they thus chosen by their Almighty Ruler? Were they elected absolutely and infallibly to enter the promised land, and to triumph over their enemies, and to live in security, wealth, and enjoyment? Manifestly not. They were elected to the privilege of having these blessings *placed within their reach*, on the condition of their obeying the law which God had given them; but those who refused this obedience, were not only excluded from the promised blessings, but were the objects of God's especial judgements, far beyond those inflicted on the heathen nations who had not been so highly favoured. . . . So also, we may conclude, no Christian is elected to eternal salvation absolutely, but only to the knowledge of the Gospel, to the privileges of the Christian Church,—to the offer of God's Holy Spirit,—and to the *promise* of final salvation, on condition of being a faithful follower of Christ.

Such, I say, we might antecedently conjecture, must be the right interpretation of St. Paul's language, considering how constantly and how clearly all the circumstances of the old dispensation must be supposed to have been before his mind. But in the instance now before us, we are not left to conjecture: he himself draws the parallel for us, and strongly directs our attention to it; reminding us, in the most distinct manner, of the principles by which we are to be guided in our examination of the gospel-scheme. He not only always addresses his converts (the very persons whom he all along congratulates as the Called, and Favoured, and Elect of God) as if it depended on themselves to avail themselves, or not, of these offers,—to "lay hold on eternal life," or to forfeit it by their own neglect; but he also warns them, from the very example of the Israelites, against the error of misunderstanding *what* it was to which they were elected. For some of them, it is probable, having been always addressed as the "Chosen" of God, were disposed to indulge in careless security, relying on their baptismal privileges, and confident of final salvation independent of such exertions as can alone justify that confidence; even as the Jews "thought to say within themselves, we are Abraham's children." The Apostle, accordingly, himself expressly points out the correspondence between their case and that of the children of Israel; exhorting them to take warning from the backslidings and punishment of their predecessors, God's favoured people of old. pp. 97—99.

In this view of the general import of St. Paul's statements and reasonings, we are for ourselves quite willing to admit that Dr. Whately is correct. We fully agree with him, too, when he adds, that 'the Gospel itself is a call to all who have heard it; and that those who, instead of obeying it, wait for any further call, are deluded by the father of lies, who is watching for their destruction.' There *is* a providential election, such as Dr. Whately speaks of, and which is referrible only to the divine good pleasure.

No reason, he remarks, can be assigned why we ourselves, for instance, in this country, should have received the light of the Gospel, while many other regions of the earth remain in the darkness of ido-

latry. The calling and selection of us and other Christians to the knowledge of the true God, seems as arbitrary as that of the Israelites.'

p. 96.

To this providential election to the privileges of the Gospel, St. Paul must be understood to refer, where he is speaking, in general terms, of the calling and election of the Gentiles at large, in contradistinction from the restriction of the Divine favour to the Jews. The predestination as well as election of the Gentiles, on which he insists, was the reverse of a restrictive,—a comprehensive purpose of mercy, embracing, in opposition to the election of the Jews only, a multitude out of every nation, and people, and tongue. The Jews called in question the Divine purpose of mercy towards the heathen, and even objected to the Gospel which Paul preached, on that ground. The Apostle, in opposing the narrow views and exclusive claims of the objector, vindicates the sovereign right of God to have mercy on whom He will have mercy. But, as the objection of the Jew extended even to preaching the Gospel offer to the Gentiles,—as he viewed with ungenerous dissatisfaction their admission to the privileges of the Christian fellowship,—as it was not the salvation of individual heathens, but the extension of the Divine election to other nations than the Jews, against which he revolted,—it is evident, that the reasoning designed to meet that deeply rooted prejudice, must have referred to the calling,—the outward and visible choice of the Gentile nations. Thus Archbishop Leighton explains the import of the word Elect, in 1 Pet. i. 2. 'By Election here,' he says, 'I conceive is meant, the selecting them out of the world and joining them to the fellowship of the children of God.' And he refers us, for a similar use of the word, to John xv. 19; where, it is obvious, the choice or election of the Apostles by our Saviour, which rendered them the objects of hatred to their countrymen, must have been their outward association with their Divine master. And in this sense, Judas Iscariot was most assuredly one of the Elect. "Have I not," said our Saviour, "elected you twelve, and one of you is a devil?" (John vi. 70.) In the same sense must we understand St. Peter, when, accommodating the very language of the Old Testament to the Christian Church, he says: "Ye are an elect generation, a holy nation, . . . the people of God."

That this is the *only* sense in which the word election or choice is used by the New Testament writers, Dr. Whately does not contend. The following remarks are highly deserving of attention.

* When it is contended, however, that the term "Elect," or that any other scriptural expression, is to be interpreted in this or in that

sense, this must be understood, in reference to the particular passages in question, or to the generality ;—not as implying that no other sense is any where admissible, and that if the explanation given be correct, it must hold good in every passage where the word occurs. For instance, when the Apostles address their converts universally as the “ Elect,” or “ Chosen” of God, (even as the whole nation of Israel were of old his chosen,) this must be understood of their being chosen out of the whole mass of the Gentiles, to certain peculiar privileges, unknown to successive generations of their ancestors, but of which *they* were called and invited to avail themselves. But our Lord applies the word differently in the parables of the labourers of the vineyard, and of the marriage-feast. The wedding, He tells us, was furnished with guests by an indiscriminate collection of all that could be found in the highways ; but the guest who refused to put on the wedding garment, was “ cast into the outer darkness ” ; “ for many,” he adds, “ are called, but few chosen ;” many, that is, are “ called” to the enjoyment of high privileges, but few make such a use of the advantage as to be finally “ chosen ;” not, in this instance, (as the word is more commonly employed,) chosen to a privilege merely, but to ultimate reward ;—chosen, as having rightly availed themselves of that privilege ;—selected from among the faithless and disobedient to “ enter into the joy of their Lord.” Not that in this case the word “ chosen ” is used in different *meanings*, but that its *application* is different ; both parties are, in the same sense, “ chosen ;” but the things *to which* they are chosen are different ; and there is a corresponding difference in the principles on which the choice is conducted.

“ There is, indeed, no more fruitful source of error, in this, and in many other points, than the practice of interpreting Scripture on the principle of a scientific system, and endeavouring to make out, as in mathematics, a complete technical vocabulary, with precise definitions of all the terms employed, such as may be applied in every case where they occur. Nothing, manifestly, was farther from the design of the Sacred Writers, than to frame any such system : their writings were popular, not scientific ; they expressed their meaning, on each occasion, in the terms which, on each occasion, suggested themselves as best fitted to convey it ; and he who would interpret rightly each of these terms, must interpret it in each passage according to the context of the place where it is found. And wherever the term “ Elect ” relates (as it does in most instances) to an arbitrary, irrespective, unconditional decree, it will, I think, be found invariably to bear the sense in which I have explained it.” pp. 102—104.

It is much to be regretted, that our Translators have not uniformly employed the words choice and chosen, in rendering the Greek term. It would then have been more obvious, that the term must take its meaning altogether from the connexion in which it occurs, and that it is unsusceptible of that technical and abstract sense which is vulgarly attached to it. By the doctrine of Election, many persons understand the same thing as Predestination ; but, how close soever their connexion, it is plain, from the passages already cited, that they are not less dis-

tinct than the doctrine of Providence and that of the Divine prescience. These, too, are not less intimately related as truths. Nevertheless, we ascribe the actual bestowment of good to the providence of God,—that is, to the Divine goodness visibly exercised towards us,—not to any abstract perfection of the Divine Nature or to any secret purpose of His will. When we advert to the Divine prescience, it is generally for the purpose of vindicating the dispensations of his Providence, by inferring, that all events must take place in pursuance of plans infinitely wise, how contrary soever to our short-sighted expectations and erring judgement, because “known unto God are all things from the beginning.” And it is for this same purpose that the Apostles advert to the Divine foreknowledge and predestination; to obviate, on the one hand, the cavils of the enemies of Christianity, and, on the other, to strengthen the faith and courage of believers *: they make use of this truth in order to vindicate the Divine conduct in the election of the unworthy. What do the terms Predestination and Election mean, in fact, but the Purpose and the Providence of God in relation to his Church? Change but the terms, and, while we are far from supposing that the doctrine of the Divine sovereignty, though common to natural and revealed religion, can be rendered acceptable to ‘the ‘natural man,’ yet, the caviller must be silenced, and a stumbling-block to the ignorant would be removed. The dispensations of Grace are but a branch of that Divine administration which comprehends all the Creator’s works, and upon which the same characters of sovereignty, freeness, and wisdom are impressed. In the bestowment of good *of all kinds* upon the creature, and only still more illustriously in the extension of favour to the sinner, God acts “according to the counsel of his own will,”—spontaneously, gratuitously, freely, his own perfection being ‘the ‘only law of his working.’

In this sense, Dr. Whately admits, that ‘Election is entirely ‘arbitrary’; and that to contend that it is not so, but ‘depends ‘upon foreseen faith and obedience’, is to give a decided advantage to those who hold the Calvinistic doctrine of Election. But he denies, that Election infallibly implies salvation. We agree with him, that an election to outward privileges does not infallibly imply salvation. Yet, he must admit that, in an election to salvation, salvation *is* infallibly implied. And he allows, that the word is *sometimes* used in application to this final choice, as discriminated from the general selection or calling of Christians. In this sense, it appears to us that we must understand the words of St. Paul, when he expresses his strong assurance respecting the Thessalonian Church, that they were among the chosen of God; an assurance grounded upon their holy and

* See Acts ii. 23; iii. 18; iv. 28; xv. 18.

exemplary conduct ;—“knowing, brethren beloved, your election of God.” (1 Thes. i. 4.) This higher or final salvation must also be referred to when St. Paul remarks, that although Israel, the elect nation, had not obtained the Divine favour, the elect reserve or chosen remnant, (the *λειμμα κατ' ἐκλογὴν*,) had attained to it. (Rom. xi. 7.) And once more, although the word does not occur, a final choice implying salvation must be referred to in the Apostle’s language respecting Clement and his other fellow labourers,—“whose names are in the book of life.” (Phil. iv. 3.) Now the question returns, *Is this* election arbitrary? If Dr. Whately would deny, that it is equally arbitrary, it can only arise from his using the word arbitrary (which is indeed an objectionable, because an ambiguous phrase) in a bad sense. So far as regards the individual subject of this sovereign favour, it may be said to depend upon his perseverance in the course of faith and obedience; and the assurance expressed implies the supposition, that the parties spoken of would hold fast the beginning of their confidence steadfast to the end. But, as regards Him who knows all things from the beginning, their final salvation is not less “of grace” than the providential election; which is all that we understand by arbitrary. Whatever conditions it includes, the Divine mercy is not caused or moved by these conditions, but is self-originate and infinitely free.

We do not, however, mean to contend, that, in the passages above cited, an ‘eternal election’ to life is intended. We consider such a phrase as both unscriptural and amounting to a solecism. If the believer was predestinated to be chosen, then he was not always chosen: on the contrary, while we were yet “enemies,” Christ died for us. There is, indeed, one passage in which believers are said to have been chosen in Christ before the foundation of the world;—by which the Apostle seems to imply the superiority of their privileges over the Jews, who were chosen in Abraham. But the idea which he manifestly intends to convey, is, that the Divine purpose to redeem his Church, was from eternity. In Christ, the Church was chosen, for Christ was in the beginning with God. In themselves, they could not be chosen, because they had no existence; and individuals might as well be said to be created before the foundation of the world, as chosen, personally considered. Besides, as individuals, they were not, nor could they be, eternally in Christ; for no man can be in Christ, but as he is “a new creature,” or through faith. To be eternally chosen, we must eternally have believed. Our being chosen *in Christ*, therefore, excludes the idea of being personally chosen. ‘*Nam si in Christo sumus electi*,’ says Calvin, ‘*ergo extra nos.*’*

* The precise accordance of Calvin’s language with the Seventeenth Article of the Church of England, has been pointed out in

We have dwelt the longer on this point, because our Author himself has evidently overlooked the distinction between elec-

former articles that have appeared in this Journal. As even Dr. Whately, however, seems imperfectly acquainted with the works of Calvin, we cannot refrain from citing a few sentences which ought long ago to have silenced that great man's malignant calumniators.

ART. XVII.

‘Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby, before the foundations of the world were laid, he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation *those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind*, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting life as vessels of honour. Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent a benefit, be called according to God’s purpose by his Spirit, &c.

CALVIN.

‘Now what is the end of Election, but that, being adopted as children by our Heavenly Father, we may by his favour obtain salvation and immortality? The persons, therefore whom God hath adopted as his children, he is said to have chosen, *not in themselves, but in Christ; because it was impossible for Him to love them, except in him*, or to honour them with the inheritance of his kingdom, unless previously made partakers of him . . . Christ therefore is the mirror in which it behoves us to contemplate our election, and here we may do it with safety.’ Commentaries by Allen, v. ii. p. 449. ‘*In Christo, ergo extra nos. Hoc est, non intuitu dignitatis nostrae, sed quoniam adoptionis beneficio cœlestis Pater nos inservit in Christi corpus.*’ Com. on Eph. i. 4.

‘As the godly consideration of Predestination and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons . . . ; so, for curious and carnal persons lacking the Spirit of God to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God’s predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation, &c.

‘As those who, in order to gain an assurance of their election, examine into the eternal counsel of God without the word, *plunge themselves into a fatal abyss*; so, they who investigate it in a regular and orderly manner, as it is contained in the word, derive from such inquiry the benefit of *peculiar consolation*. Let this then be our way of inquiry; *to begin and end with the calling of God.*’ Commentaries, ii. 448. ‘*Sed me-minerimus quorsum hic de Pra-destinatione Paulus disputet, ne alios fines in disputationibus nos-tris spectando, periculose erremus.*’ Comment. on Eph. i. 4.

tion and predestination; and in consequence of this, when he has disposed of the 'Calvinistic doctrine of Election,' he seems to forget, that the Scriptural doctrine of Predestination or Fore-appointment remains to be treated of. With regard to the former, he has 'waived the question as to the *truth* or *falsity*' of the doctrine, 'inquiring only whether it is revealed.'

'One of the reasons,' he adds, 'for deciding that question in the negative, is the very circumstance, that the doctrine is, if rightly viewed, of a purely *speculative* character, not "*belonging to us*" practically,—and which *ought* not at least in any way to influence our conduct The (Calvinistic) preacher, in short, is to *act* in all respects, as if the system were not true.' pp. 117, 119.

As explained by its soundest advocates, the doctrine is, in our Author's view, 'reduced to a purely speculative dogma, barren of all practical results.' Now we readily concede, that, against any doctrine of this character, there lies the strongest presumption that it forms no part of Divine Revelation or of the Christian faith. But in the first place, as respects what *we* regard as the true doctrine of Election,—that is, the sovereignty of God in the bestowment of all good upon his creatures, Dr. Whately will not deny, that *this* is a doctrine common to natural and revealed religion; nor will he contend, that it is a barren dogma, or that the Christian minister must preach as if it were not true. And in the second place, with regard to the doctrine of Predestination, the Articles of his own Church absolutely forbid the representation, that it is a purely speculative doctrine; inasmuch as the godly consideration of it is pronounced to be full of unspeakable comfort to godly persons, adapted both to confirm their faith, and fervently to kindle their love towards God. We must greatly regret, therefore, that our Author has not applied the powers of his mind with serious diligence to this important point. An attentive examination of the *use* which the inspired writers make of this doctrine or fact, would, we think, have enabled him to shew, that those views of Predestination must be essentially unscriptural as well as erroneous, which reduce it to a barren dogma, or which do not conduce to the same practical results. It is true, that the 'abstract metaphysical questions respecting Fate and Free-will, are left by the Bible exactly where it finds them, undecided and untouched.' But there are *practical* questions respecting Fate and Free-will, which it does not leave undecided. And it might be shewn, that a false metaphysical theory is the true source of the difficulty which has been attributed to the theological doctrine. When Dr. Whately remarks, that no restraint upon our actions is implied by the mere fore-knowledge of them; (he might have added, or by the fore-appointment of the events

connected with them;) and that a certain assurance of success has a tendency not to diminish exertion, but to stimulate it; he concedes every thing that is requisite for the vindication of what are improperly termed the Calvinistic doctrines. We only wish that he had followed out these principles, by shewing, how essentially the doctrine of Predestination is involved in that important branch of Scripture evidence, Prophecy, as well as in the general scheme of Divine Providence.

Essay the fourth, on Perseverance and Assurance, is, *substantially*, an able exposition and vindication of St. Paul's doctrine on those points. The next Essay, on the Abolition of the Law, we have read with less satisfaction than any in the volume. Our readers will probably learn with surprise, that Dr. Whately adopts the opinion, considering it as a necessary inference from St. Paul's language, that the whole of the Mosaic law, *including the Decalogue*, has been entirely abrogated.

'Nor need it be feared,' he says, 'that to proclaim an exemption from the Mosaic law, should leave men without any moral guide, and at a loss to distinguish right and wrong: since, after all, the light of reason is that to which every man must be left in the interpretation of that law. For Moses, it should be remembered, did not write three distinct books, one of the ceremonial law, one of the civil, and a third of the moral; nor does he hint at any such distinction. When, therefore, any one is told, that a *part* of the Mosaic precepts are binding on us, *viz.* the *moral* ones: if he asks *which are* the moral precepts, and how to distinguish them from the ceremonial and the civil, with which they are mingled, the answer must be, that his conscience, if he consult it honestly, will determine that point. So far, consequently, from the moral precepts of the moral law being, to the Christian, necessary to determine *what is* right and wrong; on the contrary, this moral judgement is necessary to determine what *are* the *moral* precepts of Moses.'

p. 149.

By the moral law, we had supposed, that every one understood the Ten Commandments, of which Moses was in no sense the author, but which, "the Lord spake unto all the assembly in the mount, out of the midst of the fire, of the cloud, and of the thick darkness, with a great voice; and he added no more: and he wrote them on two tables of stone, and delivered them unto Moses." (Deut. v. 22.) How could they have been more carefully and strikingly distinguished from the ceremonial and civil law? It is true, that many precepts of a moral nature are found intermingled with the civil enactments of the Mosaic code; but they are all strictly expository of the *Divine* law as contained in the Decalogue, bearing to it the relation of a comment upon the text. In what other light can we view the exposition of the first Table, given by Moses, and sanctioned by our Lord himself,—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with

all thy heart"? (Deut. vi. 4, &c.) There can be no doubt, that the question put to our Lord, which was the greatest commandment, referred to the Decalogue; and his answer is decisive as to the true character of the whole. In like manner, St. Paul specifically refers to the second Table, or second great commandment of the moral law, as "briefly comprehended in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." (Rom. xiii. 8—10. Gal. v. 14.) St. James also refers to the *equal* authority of each precept of the Decalogue, as still in force. (Jam. ii. 8—11.) With such views of the moral law, as distinguished altogether from the Levitical code, it is impossible that the Apostles could contemplate its abrogation. On the contrary, St. Paul repels such a supposition with indignation: "Far be the thought! yea, we establish the law."

We freely concede to the Author, that 'it is not *because* they 'are commandments of the Mosaic law, that' the Christian 'is 'bound to obey them, but because they are moral.' But we deny that they are commandments of the Mosaic law. No part of the Decalogue dates its authority or binding force from the awful transactions of Mount Sinai. 'Before the commandments 'to do no murder and to honour one's parents had been delivered 'from Mount Sinai,' Dr. Whately justly remarks, 'Cain was 'cursed for killing his brother, and Ham for dishonouring his 'father;—which crimes, therefore,' he adds, 'could not cease 'to be such, at least, as any consequence of the abolition of the 'law.' This is true; but is it not equally evident, that the commandments which declared them to be crimes, must have been a re-promulgation of a pre-existing law, and that such a law could never be abolished? We admit, that the Decalogue, in one sense, is not the moral law, because that law is older than the Decalogue; but, as a summary code embodying that law, it is practically identified with it. And the solemn republication of this law of nature and tradition may be held to prove, that the light of reason and conscience in fallen man had become too faint to enable him to interpret that law, or to determine for himself what is right or wrong. Viewed in this light, we regard the Decalogue, together with the inspired commentary supplied by the Prophets and Apostles, as not less necessary or binding now than ever.

But Dr. Whately appears to us to set aside this commentary altogether, when he represents the moral law as consisting merely of so many bare and literal enactments.

'If men', he remarks, 'are taught to regard the Mosaic law, (with the exception of the civil and ceremonial ordinances,) as their appointed rule of life, they will be disposed to lower the standard of Christian morality, by *contenting themselves with a literal adherence to the express commands of that law*; or, at least, merely to enlarge that code,

by the addition of such precise moral precepts as they find distinctly enacted in the New Testament. Nor was this very far from being the Apostle's view of the Christian life. Not only does the Gospel require a morality in many respects higher and more perfect in itself than the law, but it places morality universally on higher grounds. Instead of precise *rules*, it furnishes sublime *principles* of conduct; leaving the Christian to apply these, according to his own discretion, in each case that may arise, and thus to be "a law unto himself." p. 156.

We must respectfully entreat our Author to re-consider the whole train of his opinions upon this subject: they appear to us fallacious throughout. How can the Gospel require a higher morality than perfect love to God and to our neighbour? It is true, the Gospel superinduces additional *motives* to obedience; but can it place morality on a higher basis than the relation of man to his Creator? Nor do we perceive the force of the Author's distinction between *rules* and *principles*. Every law implies and includes the principle upon which it is founded; and the Decalogue, as expounded by the inspired writers and by our Lord himself, is a system of sublime principles; of principles in that express and tangible shape in which alone they could have been adapted to the purpose of legislation. And he who should content himself with a *literal* adherence to the express commands of that law, (a law, however, which, even literally, no man ever fulfilled,) would only be chargeable with that wilful ignorance of the Scriptures, and that profligate hypocrisy, with which our Lord charged the Pharisees, who frustrated the commandments of God by their traditional glosses of the naked text. To such a man, the Gospel would present sublime principles or motives in vain.

Dr. Whately is 'inclined to believe, that one reason which makes some persons reluctant to acknowledge the total abolition of the Mosaic law, is the notion, that the sanctity of the *Christian sabbath* depends on the fourth commandment, and that, consequently, the reverence due to the Lord's day would be destroyed or impaired by our admitting the Ten Commandments to be no longer binding.'

'It seems hardly to have occurred to them, that, if this principle be admitted in respect of the fourth commandment as well as the rest, they are acknowledging themselves "debtors to keep the *whole* law," ceremonial as well as moral; unless, indeed, they are prepared to acquiesce in the (to me utterly unintelligible) dogma of the "Assembly of Divines at Westminster," that the observance of the sabbath is a part of the moral law!' p. 163.

This unintelligible dogma, we are fully prepared to do our best to explain and defend; but it is impossible to enter upon so wide a subject in the present article. We shall, at no distant period, avail ourselves of a volume which ought long since to

have received distinct notice, for the purpose of stating our views on this point. In the mean time, Dr. Whately will pardon our turning his own words upon himself, in expressing our conviction, that one reason which makes pious and good men so reluctant to acknowledge the binding nature of the moral law, is the notion, that the fourth commandment is simply a positive enactment,—a duty merely because it is commanded. The seventh and eighth, and even the second commandment, might, in our judgement, be quite as correctly represented to be merely positive and civil enactments; for the sabbath is not more a positive institution, than the law of marriage, or the law of property. If the second commandment is not binding, how would Dr. Whately deal with the Papist, in proving the sinfulness of image-worship? But let the Scripture be received as the interpreter of the law,—let David and Isaiah be allowed to bear witness how the Commandments were understood by the pious Jews,—and the law of the sabbath, as well as every other branch of the two great Commandments, will be seen to be an essential part of the moral law,—a positive embodying of a principle far more extensive than the letter of the rule. Dr. Whately refers his readers to Heylin and Paley. We must frankly tell him, that we have no deference for these authorities. What would he say, if, upon a *theological* point, we were to appeal to the far greater names of Bossuet and Lardner?

The eighth Essay may be considered as a sequel to the fifth, and its value is much diminished by the Author's erroneous theory relative to the moral law. Besides which, in illustrating the peculiarities observable in the moral lessons of the Gospel, he does not advert to the strictly *oriental* character of the mode of teaching employed, which furnishes the true key to those peculiarities of style. Of the intermediate Essays, the sixth, on Imputed Righteousness, would afford matter for interesting discussion, did our limits admit; and we may hereafter have occasion to advert to the Author's statements. The seventh, on Contradictions in Scripture, is highly valuable; and the concluding Essay, on the influence of the Holy Spirit, is, in some respects, the most admirable and original of the series. But we must content ourselves with strongly recommending the attentive perusal of this Essay, and of the whole volume, as the production of no ordinary writer. An extract without comment must conclude this article.

^{among our own} *It is the part of Christians of the present day, on the one hand not to distrust the reality of that presence, because it is no longer thus miraculously displayed; nor, on the other hand, to require or look for such a miraculous manifestation as God has thought fit no longer to bestow. How we should have conducted ourselves, if placed in the circumstances of the primitive Christians, can be known only to the*

Searcher of hearts ; how we *shall* conduct ourselves under the circumstances in which we *are* actually placed,—how we shall withstand our own trials, and make use of our own advantages,—is the point which most concerns us ; since of that we shall have to give an account.

‘And if we would profit by the example of the most eminent of God’s servants, we must in some respects reverse their procedure, in conformity with the reversed circumstances in which we are placed. We must endeavour to learn and to perform, as far as we are able, by our natural powers, under the blessing of God’s ordinary operations, what the Apostles were taught, or were empowered to do, by miraculous gifts : and the instruction *they* derived from their own, or from each other’s immediate inspiration, we must seek to obtain in the records of that inspiration which they have left us. They could in many instances infer this or that to be right or true, *from its being the suggestion of the Spirit* ; which was attested, to themselves and to others, by miracles : we, on the contrary, can only prove any thing to be the suggestion of the Spirit, *by its being right and true* ; and the evidence of *this*, must be sought in Scripture,—that record of the dictates of the Holy Ghost, which is the appointed standard for deciding what does proceed from the Author of all good. If our life and faith are agreeable to the Gospel, this is the ground of confidence that they are right ; and if right, they must come from that sanctifying and enlightening and supporting grace, which alone can raise to life the dead in sin, and purify man’s corrupt nature, and effectually open his eyes to the truth, and “strengthen the feeble knees” to walk in God’s paths. This spiritual assistance is not (like the other) a proof on which to build and support our faith, but is itself a matter of faith ;—a truth to be believed on God’s assurances. And those persons, therefore, are in fact *wanting* in faith (of which they often pretend to a pre-eminent degree) who are not satisfied with this assurance, but look for, and pretend to, sensible experiences, which are to afford a direct and decisive demonstration to their minds of their being under spiritual influence : “except they see signs and wonders, they will not believe.”

‘We are to look then to the Holy Scriptures which the Spirit of Christ inspired, not indeed (according to the notion some have maintained) as constituting the *only* assistance that the Holy Ghost now bestows on the Church, but as constituting the ultimate standard by which we are to *judge* how far we have received and are profiting by that assistance. It is not in these only that He *is present*, but it is by these, as a test, that his presence is, in each case, to be *known*.

‘It is, indeed, only through the enlightening and supporting grace of the Holy Spirit, that even the Scriptures themselves can be consulted with benefit. If we study them with a mind biassed by any of those numerous prejudices and infirmities which beset our frail nature, we shall receive the heavenly light of God’s word through a discoloured medium ; and its rays will thence give an unnatural tint to every thing on which they are shed. Many different persons, accordingly, may have arrived at different conclusions (*all* of which consequently could not be correct), though they have applied, apparently at least, the very test that has been recommended : they have compared their opinions and practices with the standard of God’s word,

and finding them agree, have concluded them to be the suggestions of the Spirit which dictated that word ; and yet this agreement has perhaps been (*must* have been in some instances) the result of a partial and prejudiced interpretation of Scripture ; they may have suffered those opinions and practices to bend the ruler by which they were to be measured.'

' And in referring to and studying the Scriptures, though no infallible interpreter is to be found, or hoped for,—no system of general directions that will absolutely secure us against mistake ; yet there are two maxims especially, (which have been already adverted to in these Essays,) which, studiously dwelt upon, and perpetually recalled to our thoughts, will prove a safeguard against many and various errors. The one is, to remember, that in studying the Scriptures we are consulting the Spirit of *Truth* ; and therefore must, if we would hope for his aid, search honestly and earnestly *for the truth*, not, for a confirmation of our pre-conceived notions, or a justification of the system, or the practice, to which we may be inclined. This maxim is the more frequently transgressed, from men's falsely persuading themselves that they *have* complied with it : the conclusions which they arrive at, they, of course, believe to be true ; and thence, from their having, as they suppose, *found truth*, they take for granted that it was for truth they were *seeking*. But a desire to have Scripture on our side is one thing ; and a sincere desire to be on the side of Scripture, is another.

' And, finally, in combination with this rule, we should also keep constantly in mind, that of seeking in Scripture not only for truth, but for *practical* truth, with a view to the improvement of our life and heart : this is an express condition on which spiritual aid in enlightening the understanding is promised : "if any man will *do* the will of God, he shall *know* of the doctrine." We must seek therefore in the Scriptures, by the aid of Him who gave them, not for speculative knowledge respecting the intrinsic nature of God, or of the human soul, but for practical knowledge concerning the relations existing between God and the soul of man, that we may be enabled to serve and please Him the better ; and that "the inspiration of His Holy Spirit may cleanse the thoughts of our hearts," and fit us for enjoying the more immediate presence of our Master in his triumphant kingdom. "The secret things belong unto the Lord our God ; but those things which are revealed, belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may *do* all the words of this law." ' pp. 306—313.

Art. III. *A New Year's Eve, and other Poems.* By Bernard Barton. 8vo. pp. 244. Price 9s. London. 1828.

IN reviewing a sixth volume of poems from the same facile pen, little can remain to be said by the critic respecting the merits of the Author, which must by this time be tolerably well understood by the public. Bernard Barton has been a fortunate writer, and he deserves his good fortune ; for it must be the fault of his readers if they are not the better for the pleasure

derived from his verse. We rejoice that there is a demand for the precious ware, whether it indicates that 'the love of poesy' is still strong in this worldly age, or whether the Author's poetry is read and purchased for the sake of the pious and amiable sentiment which it embodies and illustrates. We are at all events glad to find, from a sonnet addressed 'to a brother poet,' that Mr. Barton has had no reason to complain of

'The chilling insult of neglect's extreme.'

It seems that this brother poet had somewhere expressed an opinion, that 'no one cares about poets or their works,'—an unjust reflection upon the many-headed majesty, which the gratitude of friend Bernard leads him indignantly to resent. In fact, the sentiment so gravely and pathetically controverted, is so far from being correct, that one is almost tempted to think our Author must be labouring under a false impression; since, not the most querulous of that querulous and irritable race could have ventured upon so sweeping an assertion, having any knowledge of the success which the works of some poets of the day, at least, have met with. We admire the consideration and discretion of Mr. Barton, in not disclosing the name of the doubtless obscure and disappointed rhymester who gave utterance to such a libel upon this most poetical age. In deprecating the giving of publicity to the fact, even if true, Mr. Barton has, however, committed something like a bull, seeing that he is aiding and abetting in giving wind to the portentous secret.

The fact is, that so long as the writers of poetry continue innumerable, the love of poetry is in no danger of becoming extinct. Whether the multiplication of competitors for poetical fame may not tend to lessen the chances or the share of success to each, is another matter. We must also be permitted to question, whether the wide diffusion of the art or gentle accomplishment of versifying, has not had the effect of lessening admiration of the genuine gift. And further, in this age of omnivorous readers, we are inclined to think, that, although much more poetry is read than ever, poetry is not on that account more read. As the effect of most improvements in machinery is to produce a cheaper and perhaps a finer article at the expense of its durability of texture, so, while more books are bought, they are sooner thrown aside; and the poet must not expect to be much oftener read than the novelist. Now, were we poets instead of reviewers, we would rather that a single volume of ours should be read five times, than that five volumes of ours should be read once. Putting out of consideration, we mean, the account with our publisher, it would gratify our vanity more, to be appreciated by the few, than to be bought and read by the many. But this is, perhaps, a proud, selfish feeling. And as

regards the question of usefulness, the wider one's circle of readers, the more opportunity and hope are afforded of doing good.

The title of the leading poem in the present volume reproaches us with having suffered the year to become a month old, without noticing the Author's peal of verse in honour of its nativity. We must confess, that we always listen for the passing bell of the old year, and the sprightlier tone of proclamation in which the church bells' thundering harmony announces its successor. We have *thought* many a poem upon such occasions, and are bound to thank Mr. Barton for so well interpreting some of our sad and mingled fancies.

- A New Year's Eve ! methinks 'tis good to sit
At such an hour, in silence and alone,
Tracing that record, by the pen unwrit,
Which every human heart has of its own,
Of joys and griefs, of hopes and fears unknown
To all beside ; to let the spirit feel,
In all its force, the deep and solemn tone
Of Time's unflattering, eloquent appeal,
Which Truth to every breast would inwardly reveal.
- Nature herself seems, in her wintry dress,
To own the closing year's solemnity ;
Spring's blooming flowers, and summer's leafiness,
And autumn's richer charms are all thrown by.
I look abroad upon a starless sky !
Even the plaintive breeze sounds like the surge
On ocean's shore among those pine-trees high ;
Or, sweeping o'er that dark wall's ivied verge,
It rings unto my thought the old year's mournful dirge.
- There is a joy in deep thought's pensive mood,
Far, far beyond the worldling's noisiest mirth ;
It draws from purer elements its food,
Higher and holier is its heavenly birth :
It soars above the fleeting things of earth,
Thro' faith that elevates, and hope that cheers ;
And estimates by their *enduring* worth,
The cares and trials, sorrows, toils, and fears,
Whose varied shadows pass across this vale of tears.'

A strain of solemn thought runs through the whole series of stanzas, which would be broken by detaching any of them from the connexion. Such a poem, too, like an oil painting, requires to be surveyed in the same light in which it was composed, in order to have its proper effect. We must pass on to the miscellaneous poems ; and among these, that which has pleased us best, is

'The Translation of Enoch.'

‘ Though proudly through the vaulted sky
 Was borne Elisha’s sire,
 And dazzling unto mortal eye
 His car and steeds of fire:

‘ To me as glorious seems the change
 Accorded to thy worth ;
 As instantaneous and as strange
 Thy exit from this earth.

‘ Something which wakes a deeper thrill
 These few brief words unfold,
 Than all description’s proudest skill
 Could of that hour have told.

‘ Fancy’s keen eye may trace the course
 Elijah held on high :
 The car of flame, each fiery horse,
 Her visions may supply ;—

‘ But thy transition mocks each dream
 Framed by her wildest power,
 Nor can her mastery supreme
 Conceive thy parting hour.

‘ Were angels, with expanded wings,
 As guides and guardians given ?
 Or did sweet sounds from seraphs’ strings
 Waft thee from earth to heaven ?

‘ ’Twere vain to ask : we know but this—
 Thy path from grief and time
 Unto eternity and bliss,
 Mysterious and sublime !

‘ With God thou walkedst : and wast not ?
 And thought and fancy fail
 Further than this to paint thy lot,
 Or tell thy wondrous tale.’ pp. 129—131.

The poems are truly ‘ *miscellaneous*,’ embracing a wild variety of subjects, grave and gay, in every form of metre. Among others, we were startled at finding a sonnet dedicated to the illustrious Lady Godiva ; but we must say, that the subject is treated with felicitous delicacy. ‘ *The Daughter of Herodias*’ is made to dance to a very light, but not very graceful measure. By what strange caprice our grave friend could think of setting the subject to such a tune, we cannot imagine. ‘ *The Sea*’ is a very striking poem ; but in ‘ *The Stars*,’ the Author injudiciously parodies himself : such ingenuities will not bear repetition. The volume is adorned with a ‘ *frontispiece*,’ drawn and engraved by Martin, representing Christ walking on the sea ; it is almost a transparency ; and we must make room for some pleasing verses written in illustration of it. Mr. Barton should not have omit-

ted to notice, that Peter did not go forth to meet his master, till he had received permission.

- ‘ The multitudes, miraculously fed,
Had to their distant homes been sent away ;
Jesus had sought, apart, the mountain-head,
‘ Mid nature’s silent solitude to pray :
In darkness and in storm had closed the day,
And on the water of Gennesaret
The bark which held his faithful followers, lay
Tossed to and fro ;—their Master comes not yet !
Can he who fed the crowd, his chosen few forget ?
- ‘ Believe it not :—though heaven above be dark,
And ocean stormy, still his love and might
Are with the inmates of that little bark ;
And, in the fourth watch of the fearful night,
A heavenly form arrayed in vestments bright,
Treads with unfaltering feet the billowy tide :
The moon has risen, and sheds her silvery light
Full on that form which toward them seems to glide,
As if the winds to chain, and all their fears to chide.
- ‘ Can it be human ? One of mortal mould
Could not thus walk the waves in majesty !
Fear strikes the timid, awe o’ercomes the bold,
As, underneath that shadowy moon-lit sky,
The glorious vision silently draws nigh,
Shining more brightly from surrounding shade ;
“ It is a spirit ! ” in their fear they cry :—
Soon does their Master’s voice those fears upbraid,
“ Be of good cheer,” he says, “ ‘tis I, be not afraid ! ”
- ‘ Peter goes forth to meet him : but the sound
E’en of the sinking tempest’s lingering breath,
The clouds of night yet darkly hovering round,
The parting-waves, his only path beneath,
Recall to him but images of death,
And fear had sunk him :—but with out-stretched hand,
His Lord exclaims, “ O thou of little faith !
Why didst thou doubt ? ” his hope and faith expand ;
And by his Master’s side he walks as on dry land.
- ‘ Oh ! well might they before whose eyes were trod
The deep’s unyielding waves, then worship Thee ;
Confess Thee of a truth the Son of God,
And bend in prayer and praise the reverend knee :
Should their’s, alone, such rites of homage be ?
Forbid the thought ! unseen of mortal eye
Even in this day, on life’s tempestuous sea,
Thou walk’st its waves when stormy winds are high,
Thy people’s guide and guard : nor wilt thou pass them by !

As to thy loved disciples in their bark

Thou showest Thyself upon that fearful night,
E'en now when waves are rough, and skies are dark,

Dost thou, in condescending love, delight
To manifest thy saving arm of might

For such as look to thee alone for aid ;

To those who walk by faith and not by sight

Yet visible in sorrow's dreariest shade,

And heard proclaiming still, " 'Tis I, be not afraid ! "

Then wind and wave are hushed, and all is calm ;

Light from above breaks forth, the clouds are riven,
And for the cry of fear, the grateful psalm

Of joy and praise is to the spirit given :

No more the bark is tempest-tossed or driven,

But, as in this delightful, tranquil scene,

The parting clouds ope vistas into heaven ;

For fear and doubt spring faith and hope serene,

And holy peace presides where horror late hath been.

Saviour, Redeemer, and Incarnate Word !

Since Scripture hath declared that every knee

To Thee shall bow, each tongue confess Thee " Lord "

In mercy or in judgement ; grant that we

May in the hour of mercy bow to Thee !

If not—in judgement, gracious Lord ! arise ;

And on the wave of trial's stormiest sea,

Beneath the gloom of sorrow's darkest skies,

Come as thou camest of yore to Thy disciples' eyes.'

p. 240—244.

Art. IV. *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy in the Sixteenth Century: including a Sketch of the History of the Reformation in the Grisons.* By Thomas M'Crie, D.D. 8vo. pp. 446. Price 10s. 6d. Edinburgh. 1827.

WE must apologize for our involuntary neglect of this valuable and highly interesting volume. Accidental circumstances alone have delayed our notice of a work which ought to be in the hands of every man seeking acquaintance with one of the most important sections of ecclesiastical history,—that which records the progress of religious truth, its struggles with error and oppression, and its unsubdued energy, even when pressed down by the iron bondage of priesthood and state policy. We are too apt, in common and cursory reading, to catch the enthusiasm of success ; to 'pursue the triumph, and partake the gale' of fortune's favourites, regardless of the perhaps nobler struggles which have been made by high-principled and constant spirits, amid

depression, failure, suffering, in the face of privation, torture, and miserable death. We read with delight of Luther and his victorious stand against destructive error and spiritual wickedness in high places. We trace his steady progress through difficulties and fearful hazards; we wonder at his bold bearing amid ravening enemies, and at the uncompromising intrepidity with which he confronted his persecutors; and we follow on his brave career through all its casualties and vicissitudes, to its final triumphs. But there are other chapters of the same great record, on which it is painful to dwell, and which we are, therefore, somewhat too ready to overlook. If truth prevailed in Germany, in Switzerland, in the Low Countries, in Sweden, and in England, there were other regions where it laboured, and strove, and fought the good fight; but where it was beaten down with a strong and bloody hand, trampled in the dust, and its relics burned with fire. With the circumstances of these dark doings, we must make ourselves familiar, if we are making inquiry concerning the ways by which Providence has wrought out its purposes of good; and if we would contemplate the effect of conscientious conviction in bracing up human resolution to the utmost intensity of effort and endurance. The extirpation of the Albigenses, the deep-dyed atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition, the unrelenting inflictions of the 'rod of Alva,' the merciless visitations of the Cevennes,—amid all these miseries and agonies were the brightest manifestations of Christian heroism,—the noblest victories of conscience over pain and temptation.

'The Reformation in Italy' will seem a strange combination of words to those, and to those only, who have paid but little attention to the actual course and influence of events, or who are but slightly conversant with the phenomena of mind and the operations of principle and feeling. The great tendency of man, as a being not merely capable of religion, but incapable of existing without it, is to superstition, when the means of sound religious instruction are absent or perverted. Without religion, men may have been found; but never, in that case, without superstition. Of this cardinal infirmity, the Romish hierarchy has taken full advantage. Its system of domination is established on this principle; and the machinery employed in effecting its purposes of delusion is, of course, in the highest perfection and activity at the centre of deception, the very seat of the arch-juggler, and his most dexterous and devoted associates. But if it be true, that, in Rome and Italy, the superstitious observances of popery have been exhibited to the public eye in the most splendid and imposing form, and impressed on the general mind by a specious display of reasons and motives the most urgent and seductive; and if, at the same time, these gross appeals

were wisely adapted to the superstitions tendencies of man; how is it—we believe the fact to be unquestionable,—that there has always been more of infidelity, direct or indirect, among the Italians, than among any other people in Christendom? To this question there may be many replies, and all partially correct, though all evading the entire and specific solution of the enigma. The high spirit of the citizens of the Italian republics; the vicious characters which, from time to time, reigned in the Vatican; the opportunities continually offered to a clever and keen-witted race for catching a passing view of what was going forward behind the glittering 'drop-scene' at which the multitude was gaping; the frequent blunders and indiscretions of the actors, principal and subordinate;—these, with other stimulants to the restless and doubting spirit of man, may be fairly stated as collateral and proximate causes of extensive scepticism. But before its prevalence can be adequately explained, we must look beyond secondary influences, and have recourse to first principles. We have already referred to that universally recognized quality of human nature, which originates its tendency to superstition; we must now direct attention to that less apparent, but not less positive law of man's metaphysical and moral being, which establishes a strange, but close alliance between superstition and infidelity. It would seem an ordination of God, that they who refuse to pay him 'reasonable service', should be given over to their own waywardness; and that all worship which, in its essential characters, violates his holiness and majesty, should lead onward and downward to darkness and desperation. Quitting religion, the soul leaves its strong hold, and deserts its proper sphere of wise and safe expiation. Embracing superstition, the soul at once enters on an attractive, but dangerous system of faith and duty, well suited to the caprices and perversities of its fallen nature, yet claiming intimate connexion with its higher destinies; keeping them constantly in sight, and professing to supply the cheapest and least fallible means of attaining and securing them.

This, then, was in Italy the state of things, so far as religious feeling was concerned. Ambition had compelled religion to become its slave and tool. Enthroned on the consciences of men, and wielding, as its weapons, their fears and their fidelities, priesthood obtained for itself an eminence of power, which it employed for the worst purposes. But there was reaction as well as action. The mind, driven from the consolations of religion to the false refuges of superstition, and discerning the hollowness of its pleas, and the hypocrisy of its pretences, turned in scorn on its oppressors: having detected the secret of their weakness, it sought eagerly, but mistakenly, for the sources of its own strength. When men had been led to confound the

real and the false, to recognize the simple majesty of Divine truth, in the painted harlotry of Rome, it was a rash but natural advance to the conclusion, that neither was deserving of regard, and to the determination of rejecting religion altogether, excepting as a decent and convenient profession.

But the ways of Providence, if mysterious, are remedial; and the process which, by leading men from truth to exaggeration, and from the latter to undisguised error, is but preparing the means of purification. It may be possible for the multitude to take up their rest in the practices of superstition, because, though not religion, it is a specious substitute: but in unbelief, it is impossible for human feelings to find repose. It is at variance with the spirit of man in all its peculiarities and adaptations; with man's impulses and aspirings in every variety of his being, and in every stage of his existence. Hence, although the sceptical disposition had been roused too decidedly and too extensively, to allow of compromise with the charlatanry of the Lateran, it yielded to the bright evidence and genial influences of revealed truth, in its simplicity and integrity.

There have been within the pale of Rome, through all the stages of her usurpation, men of sincerity and piety, who, trammelled by certain obscure notions of unity and succession, did not feel themselves licensed to renounce her communion, while they bore an honourable and consistent testimony against the errors and excesses, both doctrinal and ceremonial. The administration, they saw and felt to be corrupt: the authority, they believed to be legitimate.

‘ It is an undoubted fact, though it may appear improbable to those who are imperfectly acquainted with ecclesiastical history, that the supremacy claimed by the bishops of Rome was resisted in Italy after it had been submitted to by the most remote churches of the West. The diocese of Italy, of which Milan was the capital, remained long independent of Rome, and practised a different ritual, according to what was called the Ambrosian Liturgy. It was not till the eleventh century that the popes succeeded in establishing their authority at Milan, and prevailed on the bishops of that see to procure the archi-episcopal pall from Rome. When this was first proposed, it excited great indignation on the part of the people as well as of the clergy, who maintained that the Ambrosian church, according to the most ancient institutions, was free and independent; that the Roman pontiff had no right to judge or dispose of anything connected with it; and that they could not, without incurring disgrace, subject to a foreign yoke that see which had preserved its freedom during so many ages.

‘ As the supremacy of the bishop of Rome met with strenuous opposition, so were there individuals in the darkest age who resisted the progress of those superstitions which proved the firmest support of the pontifical power. Among these was Claud, bishop of Turin, who, in the ninth century, distinguished himself not only by his judicious com-

mentaries on Scripture, but also by his vigorous opposition to the worship of images and pilgrimages to Rome; on which account he, with his followers in Italy, have been branded as Arians by popish historians, who are ever ready, upon the slightest pretexts, to impute odious opinions to those who have dissented from the dominant church.'

pp. 1, 2.

We shall not now touch on the various points of inquiry connected with the history of the Vaudois, though they would lead us deep into important illustrations of our present subject. That glorious narrative has, in former Numbers of this Journal, been more than once adverted to; nor should we now pass it by, but for the circumstance that two or three very interesting volumes are lying on our table, and claiming from us a more specific and enlarged exhibition of their contents than could have been given as an appendage to our review of Dr. McCrie's work.

The pontificate of Leo the Tenth was peculiarly favourable to the illumination of the public mind and the consequent progress of the Reformation. The education of that accomplished prince had been 'better fitted for a secular potentate than the 'head of the church': and, forgetting that darkness was the congenial element of his sway, he lavished his patronage on literature and the arts. It is every way deplorable to find such a man lending himself to a system of persecution, and labouring to bind in fetters, not merely the limbs and movements, but the intellect and better energies of his fellows. The unrelenting despotism of Hildebrand, the stern domination of Montalto, the fierce ambition of Rovere, have in them nothing of astonishing; they are in the order of things, and whatever of indignation or disgust they may excite, they awaken none of that deep regret which affects us at the contemplation of high character degraded, and golden opportunities flung recklessly away. But that the son of Lorenzo de Medici, the discriminating and munificent benefactor of learned and ingenious men—that Bembo and Sadoleti, men of high talent and elegant literature, the gifted and graceful associates of the pontiff whose name has attached itself, as its distinctive epithet, to an age of genius and learning—that these men should join in the savage chace of soul and body, and cheer the bloodhounds of persecution forward to their prey—to look on such a spectacle as this, blends with our sympathy for the oppressed, and our loathing of the oppressor, a deeper feeling of sorrow for brilliant qualities perverted and debased, for the degradation of an illustrious name, for the insensibility of power to the luxury of doing good.

The writings of the Reformers found their way into Italy, notwithstanding the rigorous measures of the spiritual police.

'Some of them were translated into the Italian language, and, to

elude the vigilance of the inquisitors, were published under disguised or fictitious names, by which means they made their way into Rome, and even into the palace of the Vatican; so that bishops and cardinals sometimes unwittingly read and praised works which, on discovering their real authors, they were obliged to pronounce dangerous and heretical. The elder Scaliger relates an incident of this kind, which happened when he was at Rome. "Cardinal Seraphin," says he, "who was at that time counsellor of the papal Rota, came to me one day, and said, 'We have had a most laughable business before us to-day. The Common Places of Philip Melanchthon were printed at Venice with this title, *par Messer Ipposilo da Terra Negra* *." These Common Places being sent to Rome, were freely bought for the space of a whole year, and read with great applause; so that the copies being exhausted, an order was sent to Venice for a fresh supply. But in the mean time a Franciscan friar, who possessed a copy of the original edition, discovered the trick, and denounced the book as a Lutheran production from the pen of Melanchthon. It was proposed to punish the poor printer, who probably could not read one word of the book; but at last, it was agreed to burn the copies, and suppress the whole affair.' " A similar anecdote is told of Luther's preface to the epistle to the Romans, and his treatise on justification, which were eagerly read for some time as the productions of Cardinal Fregoso. The works of Zuingle were circulated under the name of Coricius Cogelius; and several editions of Martin Bucer's commentary on the Psalms were sold in Italy and France as the work of Aretius Felinus. In this last instance, the stratagem was used with the consent of the author. "I am employed," says Bucer, in a letter to Zuingle, "in an exposition of the Psalms, which, at the urgent request of our brethren in France and Lower Germany, I propose to publish under a foreign name, that the work may be bought by their booksellers. For it is a capital crime to import into these countries books which bear our names. I therefore pretend that I am a Frenchman, and, if I do not change my mind, will send forth the book as the production of *Aretius Felinus*, which, indeed, is my name and surname, the former in Greek, and the latter in Latin." p. 34—36.

The most beneficial effect produced by these stirrings of the public mind, was the intense desire that seems to have been awakened for a real and intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures;—not that strained and alembicated knowledge which was to be obtained through the medium of a spiritual director, himself probably but imperfectly initiated into the learning of Holy Writ, but that habitual use of it, as a sacred manual, which its importance deserves, and its peculiar character demands. Amid many difficulties, discouragements, and dangers, conscientious

* "Schwartzerd, which was his original name, signifies in German, as *Melanchthon* does in Greek, and *Terra Negra* in Italian, *black earth*. The Italian translator of the Common Places is supposed to have been the celebrated critic, Ludovico Castelvetro."

men adventured themselves in this matter, and though they were jealously watched and hemmed in by barriers of all kinds, their efforts were not fruitless. Light dawned, the brightness of Divine truth was reflected on the very walls of the Vatican, and good men cherished the hope, that Rome itself might shake off the bondage that, through centuries of despotism and delusion, had restrained the free range of inquiry, and pent up the elasticity of sentiment and feeling. War itself, with all its miseries, brought truth and freedom in its train. Among the Germans of Charles the Fifth, and the Swiss mercenaries of Francis the First, were many of the new faith ; and these men were neither slow nor scrupulous in expressing their contempt of the jugglery around them, as well as in extolling the privileges they enjoyed at home ; the possession of the Scriptures, and the free hearing of the word of God. The coarse humour of the *corps de garde* vented itself in practical jokes calculated to make a strong impression on the populace.

‘ A party of German soldiers, mounted on horses and mules, assembled one day on the streets of Rome. One of them, named Grunwald, distinguished by his majestic countenance and stature, being attired like the pope, and wearing a triple crown, was placed on a horse richly caparisoned. Others were arrayed like cardinals, some wearing mitres, and others clothed in scarlet or white, according to the rank of those whom they personated. In this form they marched, amidst the sounding of drums and fifes, and accompanied with a vast concourse of people, with all the pomp and ceremony usually observed in a pontifical procession. When they passed a house in which any of the cardinals was confined, Grunwald blessed the people by stretching out his fingers in the manner practised by the pope on such occasions. After some time he was taken from his horse, and borne on the shoulders of one of his companions on a pad or seat prepared for the purpose. Having reached the castle of St. Angelo, a large cup was put into his hands, from which he drank to the health and safe custody of Clement, in which he was pledged by his attendants. He then administered to his cardinals an oath, in which he joined ; engaging, that they would yield obedience and faithful allegiance to the emperor, as their lawful and only prince, that they would not disturb the peace of the empire by intrigues, but, as became them, and according to the precepts of scripture and the example of Christ and his apostles, would be subject to the civil powers. After a speech in which he rehearsed the civil, parricidal, and sacrilegious wars excited by the popes, and acknowledged that Providence had raised up the emperor Charles to revenge these crimes, and bridle the rage of wicked priests, the pretended pontiff solemnly promised to transfer by testament all his authority and power to Martin Luther, that he might remove all the corruptions which had infected the apostolical see, and completely refit the ship of St. Peter, that it might no longer be the sport of the winds and waves, through the unskilfulness and negligence of its governors, who, intrusted with the helm, had spent their days and nights in drinking and debauchery.

Then raising his voice, he said, "All who agree to these things, and are willing to see them carried into execution, let them signify this by lifting up their hands;" upon which the whole band of soldiers, raising their hands, exclaimed, "Long live Pope Luther! Long live Pope Luther!" All this was performed under the eye of Clement VII.

pp. 60, 61.

Ferrara, the principality of the illustrious house of Este, was one of the earliest states that afforded an asylum to the new opinions. Ercole D'Este married, in 1527, Renée, a princess of France, daughter of Lewis XII., an elegant, virtuous, and accomplished woman, who had a decided leaning to the principles of the Reformation. At her court, the celebrated French poet, Clement Marot, when persecuted for his Protestantism in his own country, found a cordial welcome: and Calvin himself, though under a feigned name, resided there for some months. The education of her children was entrusted to men of high literature and enlightened sentiments. At Modena also, which was under the government of the same family, evangelical truth made great progress. The *Academia del Grillenzone*, which included among its members some of the most distinguished literati of Italy, spoke in no measured language of the ignorance and corruption of the clergy: and Cardinal Morone, then bishop of that see, complained, probably with considerable exaggeration, that 'the whole city was turned Lutheran.'

Florence, under the interested sway of the Medici, was no safe dwelling-place for the partizans of the Reformation; yet, there were not wanting those who welcomed the new light, and among them several who sought, in the privations and uncertainties of voluntary exile, liberty to worship, after the dictates of their own consciences, the God of their salvation.

Bologna, in the sixteenth century, belonged to the States of the Church, but its celebrated university was the resort of the liberal and enlightened. Mollo, one of its professors about the year 1533, advanced, publicly, dangerous propositions concerning the doctrine of justification by faith, and was cited to Rome on a charge of heresy. He made his defence with such skill and dexterity as to procure a conditional acquittal;—his opinions were allowed on the score of truth, but condemned on the ground of inexpediency; and he was commanded to abstain from commenting on the writings of St. Paul. He returned to Bologna, and resumed his instructions so effectively as to provoke his removal from the university. Dr. M'Crie cites, on the authority of Seckendorf, a very remarkable and interesting document, which very strongly illustrates the state of feeling at Bologna. The Elector of Saxony having sent Planitz as his ambassador to Charles the Fifth, then in Italy, for the understood purpose of persuading the Emperor to use his influence with the

Pope, in furtherance of the great object of reform, by the instrumentality of a general council; certain Bolognese citizens addressed the envoy in a letter, from which the following paragraphs are extracted.

“ We beseech and obtest you by the faith of Christ (though you are sufficiently disposed to this already, and need not our admonitions) to employ every means in your power with the religious emperor, and to leave no stone unturned, to obtain this most desirable and necessary assembly, in which you can scarcely fail to succeed, as his gentle and gracious majesty knows that this is desired, demanded, expected, and loudly called for by the most pious, learned, and honourable men, in the most illustrious cities of Italy, and even in Rome itself; many of whom, we have no doubt, will flock to you, as soon as they shall learn that this is the object of your embassy.

“ In fine, we hope that this will be willingly granted, as most reasonable and consonant to the constitutions of the apostles and holy fathers, that Christians shall have liberty to examine one another's confessions, since the just live not by the acts of others, but by their own faith, otherwise faith is not faith; nor can that persuasion which is not produced in a divine manner upon the heart be properly called persuasion, but rather a violent and forced impulse, which the simplest and most ignorant must perceive to be utterly unavailing to salvation. But, if the malice of Satan still rages to such a degree that this boon cannot be immediately obtained, liberty will surely be granted in the meantime both to clergy and laity to purchase Bibles without incurring the charge of heresy, and to quote the sayings of Christ or Paul without being branded as Lutherans. For, alas! instances of this abominable practice occur; and if this is not a mark of the reign of antichrist, what is it, when the law, and grace, and doctrine, and peace, and liberty of Christ are so openly opposed, trampled upon and rejected?”

pp. 82, 83.

But to enumerate all the Italian cities and states where the principles of the Reformation were gladly received, would be to make the tour of Italy. Towns within the hallowed fence of St. Peter's patrimony, Genoa, Verona, Pisa, Brescia, Capo d'Istria, Rome itself, partook of the contagion; and nothing but the strongest measures, aided by circumstances, could have enabled the enemies of the truth to put out its glorious light. Venice, however, deserves a distinct notice. Its jealous, but in some respects enlightened and liberal oligarchy uniformly resisted the encroachments of Rome; and the freedom of commerce was favourable to the introduction both of heretical books and of heretical teachers. There remains on record, a letter addressed to Luther, on behalf of ‘the brethren of the church of Venice, Vicenza, and Treviso’, in the year 1542.

The Milanese territory contained adherents to the reformed faith; and the adventures of an individual who contributed greatly to the spread of the gospel here, are striking enough to

induce a brief notice in this place. Selio Secundo Curione, or Curio, born at Turin, 1503, the youngest of twenty-three children, was of noble birth, and highly gifted both naturally and by education. His father having bequeathed him a MS. Bible remarkable for its calligraphy, he was at an early age led to the diligent study of its contents. He was not quite twenty when the writings of the German Reformers were put into his hands by certain Augustinian monks, and their perusal kindled within him the desire of a personal intercourse with their authors. He set out, accompanied by two friends who were subsequently eminent ministers of the reformed church; but their want of caution exposed them to the usual consequences of zealous honesty amid spies and foes. They were cast into prison; but Curio was released and taken into favour by the Cardinal-bishop of Ivrea, who placed him in a religious house which was under his own administration. The youth, however, was not less active than before in disseminating his principles; and having abstracted the contents from the convent reliquary, he substituted a copy of the Bible, with this inscription:—‘ This is the ‘ark of the covenant, which contains the genuine oracles of God, ‘ and the true relics of the saints.’ He was, of course, compelled to flee, and reached the Milanese in safety. After visiting Rome and other cities, he returned to Milan, where he married, and engaged in the business of teaching. The ravages of war compelled him to remove, and after several changes of abode, he took up his residence in the Savoyard territory.

Having gone one day in company with some of his patrons to hear a Dominican monk from Turin, the preacher, in the course of his sermon, drew a frightful picture of the German reformers, and, in proof of its justness, gave false quotations from a work published by Luther. Curio went up to the friar after sermon, and producing the book, which he had along with him, read the passages referred to, in the presence of the most respectable part of the audience, who, indignant at the impudent misrepresentations which had been palmed on them, drove their ghostly instructor with disgrace from the town. Information was immediately given to the inquisitor, and Curio was apprehended and carried a prisoner to his native city, when his meditated journey to Germany, and his abstracting of the relics at St. Benigno, were produced as aggravations of his crime, and strong presumptions of his heretical gravity. As his friends were known to possess great influence, the administrator of the bishopric of Turin went to Rome to secure his condemnation, leaving him under the charge of a brother of cardinal Cibo, who, to prevent any attempt at rescue, removed him to an inner room of the prison, and ordered his feet to be made fast in the stocks. In this situation, a person of less fortitude and ingenuity would have given himself up for lost; but Curio, having in his youth lived in the neighbourhood of the jail, devised a method of escape, which, through the favour of Providence, succeeded. His feet being

swain by confinement, he prevailed on his keeper to allow him to have his right foot loosed for a day or two. By means of his shoe, together with a reed and a quantity of rags which lay within his reach, he formed an artificial leg, which he fastened to his right knee, in such a manner as that he could move it with ease. He then requested permission to have his other foot relieved, upon which the artificial foot was introduced by him into the stocks, and his left foot was set free. Being thus at liberty, he during the night, opened the door of his apartment, felt his way through the passages in the dark, dropt from a window, and having scaled the walls of his prison with some difficulty, made his escape into Italy.' p. 103—5.

It is a strong evidence of the prevailing disposition, at this time, to act in defiance of Rome, that Curio was, after a temporary retirement, appointed a professor in the university of Pavia, where, to defend him from the emissaries of the Inquisition, his pupils were accustomed to attend him to and from his lecture-room, by way of guard. A threat of excommunication constrained the senate to order his departure, and he removed to Venice. He ultimately left Italy, and died in 1569, professor of Roman Eloquence in the university of Basle.

The unfortunate Sacramentarian controversy, which originated the schism between the churches of Germany and Switzerland, found its way into Italy, where it was warmly agitated. Bucer employed his utmost efforts to allay it, and his letters bear testimony to the Christian spirit and sound sense of that excellent man; but Luther, on whose decision the whole matter rested, for peace or for confusion, manifested a different temper. He wrote in terms of bitter animosity against his antagonists, heaped foul epithets on the Swiss reformers, and, to add fuel to the flame, caused some of his writings in controversy with the Zuinglian divines, to be translated for the use of the Italians. Dr. McCrie's reflections on this subject are admirable both in themselves and in their expression.

' Alas! what is man? What are great men, who would be thought, or are represented by their fond admirers, to be gods? A lie—lighter than vanity. Willingly would I have passed over this portion of history, and spared the memory of a man who has deserved so much of the world, and whose character, notwithstanding all the infirmities and faults which attach to it, will never cease to be contemplated with admiration and gratitude. But the truth must be told. The violence with which Luther acted in the dispute that arose between him and his brethren respecting the sacrament, is too well known; but never did the character of the reformer sink so much into that of the petty leader of a party, as it did on the present occasion. Some excuse may be found for the manner in which he conducted himself towards those who opposed his favourite dogma in Germany, or even in Switzerland; but one is utterly at a loss to conceive the shadow of an apology for his having acted as he did in reference to the Italians. Surely he

ought to have considered that the whole cause of evangelical religion was at stake among them, that they were few in number and rude in knowledge, that there were many things which they were not yet able to bear, that they were as sheep in the midst of wolves, and that the only tendency of his advice was to set them by the ears, to divide and scatter, and drive them into the mouths of the wild beasts which stood ready to devour them. This was foreseen by the amiable and pacific Melanchthon, who had always written in a very different strain to his correspondents in Italy; and who deplored this rash step of his colleague, although the mildness and timidity of his disposition prevented him on this, as on other occasions, from adopting those decisive measures which might have counteracted in some degree its baneful effects.' pp. 147, 148.

But another and more injurious source of variance among the Italian Protestants, was now springing up to trouble them. The subtile and speculative genius of Italy delighted to disport itself in hazardous ground, and dallied with specious and sceptical imaginations, until it overpassed the dangerous verge beyond which lay darkness and fatal error. 'Italian theology', wrote Melanchthon, 'abounds with Platonic theories; and it will be no easy matter to bring them back, from that vain-glorious science of which they are so fond, to truth and simplicity of explanation.'

' Socinian writers have fixed the origin of their sect at this period. According to their account, upwards of forty individuals of great talents and learning were in the habit of meeting in private conferences or colleges within the territories of Venice, and chiefly at Vicenza, to deliberate on the plan of forming a purer faith, by discarding a number of opinions held by protestants as well as papists; but these meetings, being discovered by the treachery of an individual, were dispersed in the year 1546; some of the members having been thrown into prison, and others forced to flee into foreign countries. Among the latter were Lælius Socinus, Camillus Siculus, Franciscus Niger, Ochino, Alciati, Gentilis, and Blandrata. These writers have gone so far as to present us with a creed or system of doctrine agreed upon by the collegiates of Vicenza, as the result of their joint inquiries and discussion.' pp. 153, 4.

On this statement, it is quite clear that nothing connected with the *argument* of Socinianism, depends; and it seems to have been, if not invented, at least caught at, as giving somewhat of distinction and *éclat* to the origin of a favoured sect. Dr. M'Crie shows, very satisfactorily, that it is by no means entitled to credit. It was not published until a century after the date in question, nor is it supported by documents either original or collateral. Neither Faustus Socinus, nor his biographer, the 'Polonian Knight', advert to it; nor do the particulars related tally with what is known concerning the conduct and circumstances of several of the individuals mentioned.

We pass over much interesting matter, illustrative of the sentiments prevailing among the more conscientious members of the church of Rome. There were not a few pious women, who either specifically embraced the principles of the Reformation, or adopted its vital doctrines without a positive renunciation of the Romish communion. And even among the great dignitaries of the hierarchy, there were those who, beneath Rome's purple, hid a Protestant's feelings: cardinals, bishops, abbots, priests were pricked to the heart, and 'Italy', in the language of Curio, 'our native country' was 'travailing in birth.' But from all this we must turn aside, that we may have room for a brief exposition of the remaining section of this important volume.

At length, Rome was roused: and a most interesting chapter gives an account of the decided measures adopted for the suppression of the Reformation in Italy. The Inquisition established its dreadful tribunals in all directions; and if this tremendous scourge has not been so noted for its ferocity in that country, as in Spain, it has not been owing to its greater mildness that it has escaped an equal censure, but from its deeper hypocrisy and its affectation of a more lenient process. In Venice, the introduction of the system was long resisted, and it was never suffered to place itself altogether beyond the control of the civil power; but the alliance does not seem to have abated much from its rigour.

'Acts of cruelty commenced, which continued for years to disgrace the criminal jurisdiction of the republic. Drowning was the mode of death to which they doomed the protestants, either because it was less cruel and odious than committing them to the flames, or because it accorded with the customs of Venice. But if the *autos da fé* of the queen of the Adriatic were less barbarous than those of Spain, the solitude and silence with which they were accompanied, was calculated to excite the deepest horror. At the dead hour of midnight, the prisoner was taken from his cell, and put into a gondola or Venetian boat, attended only, besides the sailors, by a single priest, to act as confessor. He was rowed out into the sea beyond the Two Castles, where another boat was in waiting. A plank was then laid across the two gondolas, upon which the prisoner, having his body chained, and a heavy stone affixed to his feet, was placed; and, on a signal given, the gondolas retiring from one another, he was precipitated into the deep.'

'The first person who appears to have suffered martyrdom at Venice, was Julio Guirlauda, a native of the Trevisano. When set on the plank, he cheerfully bade the captain farewell, and sank calling on the Lord Jesus. Antonio Ricetto, of Vicenza, was held in such respect, that, subsequently to his conviction, the senators offered to restore him not only to his liberty, but also to the whole of his property, part of which had been sold, and the rest promised away, provided he would conform to the church of Rome. The firmness of Ricetto was put to a still severer test: his son, a boy of twelve years of age, having been

admitted into the prison, fell at his feet, and supplicated him in the most melting strains, to accept of the offers made him, and not leave his child an orphan. The keeper of the prison having told him one day, with the view of inducing him to recant, that one of his companions had yielded, he merely replied, "What is that to me?" And in the gondola, and on the plank, he retained his firmness; praying for those who ignorantly put him to death, and commanding his soul to his Saviour.' pp. 232—234.

In other places, the spiritual power set the civil authorities at defiance. Not always, however, with impunity; for at Faenza, a nobleman, popular from his virtues, having been tortured to death on suspicion of Lutheranism, the people rose in fury, demolished the house of the Inquisition, and treated the altars and images with the utmost indignity, while some of the priests were trampled to death in the tumult.

' Paul III. threw many of the protestants into the prisons of Rome; they were brought forth to execution by Julius III.; and Paul IV. followed in the bloody track of his predecessor. Under the latter, the Inquisition spread alarm every where, and created the very evils which it sought to allay. Princes and princesses, priests, friars, and bishops, entire academies, the sacred college, and even the holy office itself, fell under the suspicion of heretical gravity. The conclave was subjected to an expurgatory process. Cardinals Morone and Pole, with Foscarari, bishop of Modena, Aloysio Priuli, and other persons of eminence, were prosecuted as heretics. It was at last found necessary to introduce laymen into the inquisition, "because," to use the words of a contemporary writer, "not only many bishops, and vicars, and friars, but also many of the inquisitors themselves, were tainted with heresy." Much of the extravagance displayed at this time, is, no doubt, to be ascribed to the personal fanaticism and jealousy of the pontiff, who sent for some of the cardinals to his death-bed, and recommended the Inquisition to their support with his latest breath. Such was the frenzied zeal of this infallible dotard, that, if his life had been spared a little longer, the poet's description of the effects of superstition would have been realized, "and one capricious curse enveloped all." Irritated by his violent proceedings, and by the extortion and rapine with which they were accompanied, the inhabitants of Rome, as soon as the tidings of his death transpired, rose in tumult, burnt the house of inquisition to the ground, after having liberated all the prisoners, broke down the statue which Paul had erected for himself, and dragging its members with ropes through the streets, threw them into the Tiber.'

pp. 268—270.

On the whole, however, these savage persecutions were successful in their object. Circumstances were favourable to the efforts of spiritual tyranny, and the outward profession of evangelical truth was effectually suppressed.

The concluding chapter gives a series of interesting particulars connected with the history of the foreign Italian churches,

and a sketch of the progress of Protestantism among the cities of the Grisons. An Appendix of deeply interesting extracts and documents, closes a work of uncommon value.

At the close of his Preface, Dr. M'Crie promises 'An Account of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain.' It is now some time since this pledge was given, and we trust that it will be speedily redeemed.

Art. V. *An Inquiry, What is the one True Faith, and whether it is professed by all Christian Sects: with an Exposition of the whole Scheme of the Christian Covenant, in a Scriptural Examination of the most important of their several Doctrines.* 8vo. pp. 394. London, 1829.

THIS is an imposing title, and we opened the volume with feelings of deep interest, excited by the proposed Inquiry. We had read but a few pages, however, before those feelings gave way to disappointment and disgust. We have no reason to doubt that the Writer is an honest inquirer, but he has miserably lost his way. For the diligence with which he appears to have consulted the Holy Scriptures, he deserves commendation; and had he adopted this only rational method of ascertaining the true faith, with the humility that becomes a novice, and with earnest prayer for the illumination of the Divine Spirit, we cannot doubt that he would have arrived at conclusions widely different;—although we question whether he would even then have been qualified to set the whole Christian world right upon the subject of the "One Faith." A few detached sentences will sufficiently shew the views and opinions of the Writer. In his preface, he expresses his confidence, that the results of his inquiry will be acceptable to such persons as have been so dissatisfied with the irrationality and inconsistency of all previous representations on the subject, as to be obliged to hold their opinions in suspense.

'Equally or still more acceptable, he presumes, it may prove to others, who have been so far repulsed from Christianity, by the ridiculous comments and silly notions of the writers and teachers of different sects, as to slight its doctrines and precepts as unsatisfactory and beneath attention. In shewing to these, that its whole tenour is *exactly what they would reasonably wish and approve it to be*;—that the imperfections they have thought attributable to it, can truly be ascribed only to erroneous interpretation,—he cannot doubt that he is performing a service both welcome and beneficial.' p. xviii.

'Although, without confidence in the truth of the Scriptures, it is certain we cannot possess the true faith—because these are the only documents which remain, to teach us that Jesus is our Saviour—we may, without the least danger, misconceive many parts of them; we

may even be persuaded, as some persons are, that many passages are spurious; and we may entertain different opinions on many of the doctrines—on many which some persons deem of vital importance,—without being in the least degree mistaken or deficient in our faith. In our opinions on these doctrines, we may widely differ, without at all differing in our essential christian belief. Whether Christ is equal with the Father, and the same with the Father and the Holy Ghost, is merely matter of opinion; for whether we think him so or not,—so long as we regard him as our Lord and Redeemer,—it will make no alteration in our faith—in our reliance on him. Whether we think he died to make atonement for our sins, or, by his resurrection, to assure us of his power to break the bonds of death—“to bring life and immortality to light,” is of no importance to our faith; for, in embracing either of these persuasions, we adopt an opinion only of the purpose, without any difference of belief as to the fact: and whether we think it right to personify, or not, the Holy Ghost, is of no consequence to our faith in Christ. If we believe that Jesus is Christ, and consequently confide in his promise and power to save us, our faith will not be at all affected—for it really cannot be of any importance to our welfare—whether we know or believe that he possesses this power in himself as God, or by the gift and appointment of God! pp. 19, 20.

‘ Every man is frequently led by his evil propensities from the path of rectitude; and therefore, every man’s conduct can be obedient only in a very deficient degree. So far, however, as it is obedient, (and every Christian’s conduct must be so in some acts)—to this degree he is vindicated by it;—for this part of his conduct he wants no other justification than his deeds: an assertion that he stands in need of any other, would be manifestly false: and to this degree, however little or great, but not further, the doctrine of the Scripture is, that he is so justified; justified, as Abraham was, by his works. For the very great deficiency of this degree of obedience,—of these works, to a complete justification of his conduct, God, from his infinite mercy and kindness, has promised to regard faith as a compensation; and so far, therefore, as God may deem this deficiency excusable, accordingly with the conditions of the new covenant, we are taught, that man will be justified by faith. But neither by faith further than this: for it is only because *faith thus atones for the unavoidable defects of his conduct*, and consequently enables him to gain salvation, which he could not otherwise; that justification, righteousness, salvation, are said to be “through faith”: and they are declared to be through grace—through favour—because it is, certainly, an unmerited kindness, that the reward which only perfect obedience could claim under the law, or from justice, is given to very imperfect;—that righteousness is imputed, in consideration of faith, to him who is not completely righteous.’ pp. 257, 8.

‘ The instability of our nature disqualifies us for the exact observance of any precise rules, and especially of any by which our passions are to be controlled. Only the sincere and earnest disposition to obey is, therefore, exacted from us; that when we unavoidably err from weakness, we may be excused: and we are only called upon for *repentance*.

when we are conscious of guilt ; that we may not be condemned for faults of which, from ignorance, we are unaware.' pp. 280, 281.

We shall offer no other comment upon these statements, than this ; that we have no doubt of their being perfectly acceptable to those persons for whom the Author writes ; namely, such as, having hitherto slighted the claims, and set at nought the precepts of Christianity, wish for a religion in accordance with their own inclinations, that may lull their consciences to sleep. They may be rejoiced to hear, if they can swallow the bait, that they may err without mistake, and sin without danger ; that the doctrines of religion are of no importance, and its precepts equally accommodating ; that God exacts nothing more from them than they are inclined to practise, and that a faith without works is a compensation for all deficiencies. A writer who stigmatizes as irrational, inconsistent, silly, and ridiculous, the notions of all other teachers of different sects, would have no reason to complain of the heaviest chastisement that might be inflicted on his arrogance and licentiousness ; but we have no disposition to recriminate. Seldom have we met with a more striking illustration of the words of St. Peter : " In which (the epistles of Paul) are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable, wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction."

Art. VI. *Journal of a Second Expedition into the Interior of Africa, from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo.* By the late Commander Clapperton, R.N. To which is added, the Journal of Richard Lander from Kano to the Sea-coast, partly by a more Eastern Route. With a Portrait of Captain Clapperton, and a Map of the Route. 4to. pp. 356. London. 1829.

THIS volume will be read with deep interest, as the personal narrative of the last exertions of Captain Clapperton in the cause of African discovery. Of this enterprising Traveller, the Editor remarks, ' it may now be said, what will most probably never be said of any other person, that he has traversed the whole of Northern Africa from the Mediterranean to the Bight of Benin.' That many years will elapse before this will be said of any other European, may be safely predicted ; but we know not what is to hinder, eventually, the opening of a thoroughfare through the heart of Africa, which civilized Africans may be able to traverse with safety. The value of Captain Clapperton's contributions to our geographical knowledge, would indeed be small, if they only enabled us to correct our maps ; but it is a great point gained, to have ascertained what are the real difficulties to be encountered in opening those

channels through which trade and civilization may hereafter be made to flow. The mere decision of a geographical problem would not be at all worth the expenditure of valuable life which it has already cost, to determine that the river of Timbuctoo is *not* the Niger. Yet, we suppose that some definite object of curiosity is necessary to keep alive the spirit of discovery. A well-bred dog will plunge into the stream to fetch a mere stick, but he will not go for nothing. The prospect of recovering Mungo Park's papers, is the stick now thrown out as a motive for a fresh plunge into the wilds of Africa. 'It cannot', the Secretary to the Admiralty tells us, 'be doubted for a moment

'that volunteers enough will be found ready to proceed on an enterprise of so much interest; and for an object, the recovery of which is not only due to the reputation of the lamented traveller, but to the nation to which he belonged, and to the government under whose auspices he undertook to make discoveries in Africa. If Clapperton's servant could find his way, alone and unprotected, through three times the distance it would be necessary to travel for the object in question, how much more likely would a duly accredited agent, bearing some trifling presents and a letter from the King of England, be certain of making good his way, without difficulty, by the same track which has so recently been trodden, without molestation, by Christians and white men. A few presents, and but a few, and of trifling value, would only be necessary to secure the protection and assistance of the native chieftains on the road.' p. xxii.

Although this paragraph is not very good English, the meaning of the maze of words is tolerably obvious; first, that Mr. Barrow is laudably intent upon following up by a fresh expedition, the discoveries already made; and his geographical zeal may have received a stimulus from the recent success of M. Caillé in penetrating to Timbuctoo: secondly, that he deems it expedient to fix upon some definite object, however trivial, some intellectual *hobby* or romantic illusion, either as a lure for volunteers, or as a pretext with his superiors;—when the true ground to be taken is, the desirableness of opening Africa to a legitimate and civilizing commerce: and thirdly, that he thinks it politic to represent a journey as 'likely to be certain' of being unattended with difficulty, which is beset with every physical danger. Of this, the history of the late expedition presents but too decisive a proof.

Towards the close of August 1825, Captain Clapperton sailed from Portsmouth, charged with a mission to Sultan Bello, of Sackatoo, and accompanied by Captain Pearce, of the Navy, and Doctors Dickson and Morrison. They touched at Sierra Leone, and arrived in the Bight of Benin on the 26th of November, 1825. Dr. Dickson, 'being desirous of making his way alone to Soccatoo, for what reason does not appear', was

landed at Whidah, and proceeded by way of Dahomey. Captain Clapperton and his companions started from Badagry. They were soon attacked by disease, which proved fatal to Captain Pearce and Doctor Morrison; Captain Clapperton and his servant, Richard Lander, accompanied by Mr. Houtson, a British merchant resident at Benin, proceeded across the mountains to Katunga, the capital of Youriba. There, Mr. Houtson left them to return to the coast, where he shortly afterwards died. Dr. Dickson reached Dahomey, having lost on the road his servant Columbus, a mulatto, who had attended Major Denham. He was thence sent forward to a place called Shar, a distance of seventeen days, where also he arrived in safety; and he set off, under a suitable escort, for Youri, on his way to join Clapperton, but has not since been heard of. Captain Clapperton, with his servant, reached Soccatoo in safety, where they remained many months; but at length, a fever and dysentery terminated his existence, April 13, 1827. Lander, his faithful and intelligent servant, whose journal forms a highly interesting portion of the volume, fortunately made his way back to the coast by a different route, and arrived in England in the April following.

Captain Clapperton's Journal commences with their starting from Badagry on the 7th of December, 1825. They proceeded slowly up a branch of the Lagos river, in canoes, as far as the mouth of the Gazie creek, which they ascended for about a mile and a half, and then landed on the western bank, where they slept, 'close to the river in the open air.' The banks of both these rivers are low, and covered with reeds; the soil, a red clay mixed with sand; and the surrounding country is covered with forests of high trees and jungle. Not the hum of a single mosquito was to be heard. Here, every circumstance combined to create an atmosphere fatal to animal life; and the consequence of the unaccountable disregard of all precaution on the part of the travellers, was soon apparent. On the 10th, Captain Clapperton had a slight fit of ague. On the 12th, Dr. Morrison was taken unwell, with slight symptoms of fever. On the 14th, Captain Pearce and Richard Lander were taken ill. They had by this time reached Laboo, a town seated on a rising ground, where the country begins to undulate in hill and dale. The distance from the coast is not specified, but it can hardly be so much as fifty miles; and Lagos, we are told, can be reached in one day by a messenger. Yet, it had occupied the travellers no fewer than seven days. The delay seems to have been partly occasioned by the heavy baggage and stores, and by the difficulty of obtaining bearers. Besides which, Captain Clapperton had 'mounted a pair of new boots,' which crippled his feet, and disabled him from walking; and when he obtained a horse, he had

no saddle, and became so galled that he was compelled to walk barefoot. We are not told how his companions fared in this respect; but, if better arrangements could have been made for their pressing forward to Laboo, we think it highly probable, that the whole party might have escaped the poisonous effects of the *miasmata*. Captain Pearce and Dr. Morrison both died on the 27th of December; and it must have been owing to their uncommonly vigorous constitutions, that Clapperton himself and his servant survived.

The territory upon which they had entered soon after leaving Badagry, is a district of the kingdom of Eyeo or Yarriba, the monarch of which resides at Katunga, a thirty days' journey from the coast. The country, as far as Laboo, is almost a perfect level, in parts swampy; it is, however, partially cultivated and populous. The inhabitants of the villages displayed all the negro gayety, keeping up singing and dancing all night round the house allotted to the white men. 'Their songs were in 'chorus, and not unlike *some* church music', says Captain Clapperton, 'that I have heard.' On leaving Laboo, they were attended for some distance by the *caboceer* or head-man of the town, at the head of the whole population, the women singing in chorus and holding up both hands as they passed; while groupes of people were kneeling down, and apparently wishing them a good journey. The road now lay over an undulating country well cultivated and beautiful, through plantations of millet, yams, and maize. Three hours further, is Jannah, which has been a walled town: the gate and fosse are all that now remain of the fortifications. The inhabitants may amount to between 8000 and 10,000 souls. They are great carvers: their doors, drums, and every thing of wood, are carved. The account which Captain Clapperton gives of the natives of this district, generally, is highly favourable. He had only to complain of the eternal loquacity of the women, which seems to have annoyed him most uncommonly.

'Here, among the Yarribanies, is the poor dog treated with respect, and made the companion of man; here he has collars round his neck, of different colours and ornamented with cowries, and sits by his master, and follows him in all his journeys and visits. The great man is never without one; and it appeared to me, a boy was appointed to take care of him. In no other country of Africa that I have been in, is this faithful animal treated with common humanity. I cannot omit bearing testimony to the singular and perhaps unprecedented fact, that we have already travelled sixty miles in eight days *, with a numerous and heavy baggage, and about ten different relays of carriers, without losing

* They arrived at Jannah on the ninth day, but halted a day at Laboo. This will give seven miles and a-half per day.

so much as the value of a shilling, public or private; a circumstance evincing not only somewhat more than common honesty in the inhabitants, but a degree of subordination and regular government which could not have been supposed to exist among a people hitherto considered barbarians. But it is beyond the power even of African despotism to silence a woman's tongue.' p. 13.

A circumstance, however, is added, which forms a melancholy drawback upon the apparent amiableness and other good qualities of the inhabitants of Jannah. Owing to the arrival of a Brazilian brig at Badagry for slaves, the people had been, for the preceding two days, making preparations for 'a slaving expedition to a place called Tabbo, lying to the eastward.' Yet, these people are both civil and industrious. Captain Clapperton observed several looms at work; in one house, he saw eight or ten, 'in fact a regular manufactory'; and he afterwards visited several cloth-manufactories and three dye-houses, with upwards of twenty vats in each, all in full work. The indigo, he says, is of an excellent quality; and the cloth of a good texture, some very fine. 'The women are the dyers; the boys, the weavers; and the men, we presume, the slave-catchers. The loom and shuttles are on the same principle as the common English loom, but the warp is only about four inches wide. They also manufacture earthenware, but prefer European ware, which they obtain from Badagry.'

The route now lay through thick woods, with only patches of cleared ground, and the roads were dreadfully bad and partially flooded by heavy rains. Captain Clapperton caught a fresh cold, and the sick became worse. All the towns in this part are situated in the bosom of an inaccessible wood, and the atmosphere was raw, thick, and heavy. Where the ground has been cleared, the country is beautiful, diversified with gentle hills and dales, a small stream of water running through each valley. At a town called Engwa, which they reached on the 27th, poor Pearce breathed his last. On the following day, he was interred, 'the whole of the principal people of the town attending, and all the servants.'

'The grave was staked round by the inhabitants, and a shed built over it: at the head of the grave, an inscription was carved on a board by Richard, I' (adds Captain C.) 'being unable to assist or even to sit up.'

Dr. Morrison had been left behind at Jannah, where he expired on the same day.

In the next stage, the state of the atmosphere became much improved, the country being clear and gradually rising; and on the high ground, large blocks of grey granite were seen cropping out. All the valleys here were filled with streams running

to the N.W., to join a large river said to fall into the Lagos. After passing Assonilo, a walled town containing about 10,000 inhabitants, the route wound through beautiful rocky valleys formed by rugged and gigantic blocks of granite, rising, in some places, to the height of six or seven hundred feet.

‘ Sometimes the valley is not a hundred yards broad ; at others, it may widen to half a mile. In one place, we had to travel over a wide mountain plain. The soil is rich, but shallow, except alongside the fine streams of water which run through the valleys, where large, tall trees were growing : the sides of the mountains are bare, except in the crevices, which are filled with stunted trees and shrubs ; the valleys are well cultivated and planted with cotton, corn, yams, &c. The cluster of hills is said to rise in the Berghoo country, which is behind Ashantee, and to run eastward through Jaboo to Benin : they do not know their direction any further. They extend from W.N.W. to E.S.E. and are about eighty miles in width from N. to S.’ p. 21.

On the 8th of January, they reached Duffoo, ‘ a town that may contain upwards of 15,000 people ’ ; and on the next day, Chiadoo, containing upwards of 7000 ; both within the mountains. The road was very difficult and dangerous, lying through rugged passes. Beyond Chiado, it passed over a well planted and thickly inhabited tract, and then again entered the mountains. This second ridge was still more broken and rugged than the first, appearing as if some great convulsion of nature had thrown the immense masses of granite into wild and terrific confusion. The road through the pass now rose almost perpendicularly, then descended in the midst of rocks into deep dells, and then again wound beautifully round a steep declivity beneath overhanging rocks.

‘ In every cleft of the hills, wherever there appeared the least soil, were cottages surrounded with small plantations of millet, yams, or plantains, giving a beautiful variety to the rude scenery. The road continued rising, hill above hill, for at least two miles, until our arrival at the large and populous town of Chaki, situated on the top of the very highest hill. On every hand, on the hills, on the rocks, and crowding on the road, the inhabitants were assembled in thousands ; the women welcoming us with holding up their hands and chanting choral songs, and the men with the usual salutations and every demonstration of joy. The cabocceer was seated on the outside of his house, surrounded by his ladies, his singing men and singing women, his drums, fifes, and gong-gongs. His house was all ready for us ; and he immediately ordered us a large supply of goats, sheep, and yams ; pressing us strongly to stay a day or two with him. He appeared to consider us messengers of peace, come with blessings to his king and country. Indeed, a belief is very prevalent, and seems to have gone before us all the way, that we are charged with a commission to make peace wherever there is war, and to do good to every country through which

we pass. The caboceer of this town, indeed, told us so; and said, he hoped that we should settle the war with the Nyflee people and the Fellatah, and the rebellion of the Housa slaves, who have risen against the King of Yariba.' pp. 24, 5.

On leaving Chaki, the worthy caboceer escorted them several miles, attended by upwards of two hundred of his wives, one of whom was young and beautiful. At Kooso, between four and five hours further, the same favourable impression respecting the whites was found to prevail. The caboceer came forward to welcome the strangers, and said, he was glad to see white men come to his country and going to see his king; adding, that he never expected to see this day, and that all the wars and bad palavers would now be settled. He presented them with yams, eggs, milk, a goat, a sheep, a fine fat turkey, and a large pig sent by the caboceer of a neighbouring town. Kooso is the largest town by far that they had yet seen, containing at least 20,000 people, and surrounded with a double wall; the outer one extending from some rugged granite hills on the s. e. to a great distance in the plain. The country on every side was described as being full of large towns. A well cultivated and well peopled country, apparently table land, extends to Ladooli; but that town was found deserted by most of its inhabitants, owing to the recent inroads of the rebellious Houssas, who had burned several towns and villages which were passed in the course of the next few miles. A tract of gravelly soil mixed with sand, bearing only low, stunted, scrubby trees, now occurs, which would appear to be formed by the decomposed granite brought down from the mountains. To this succeeded a red clay mixed with gravel, containing large pieces of clay iron-stone; and in this part of the route, the Author obtained the flower of the butter-tree of Mungo Park. On the 20th, the Author reached the large town of Atepa, containing certainly above 6000 souls: it is singularly fortified with a belt of trees, rendered impenetrable by the crossing thorny creepers, through which there is only a narrow pass at the gates. The next day, half an hour beyond the walled town of Namah, they crossed a stream called Juffee or Moussa, running to the s. w., which falls into the Quorra at, or opposite to, Nyflee. An hour and a half further, they came to the walled town of Leobadda, situated on the eastern side of a ridge of granite, the tops of which are broken into large masses, some of them forming the most grotesque figures imaginable: they run in a direction n. e. and s. w., rising from fifty to sixty feet above the plain, and join the hills to the s. and e. One day's journey to the n. e. of this town is Kiama, the capital of a district of Borgoo, whose inhabitants, the cab-

ceer told Captain Clapperton, were no better than a band of thieves, who infested the roads of Youriba and stole all they could catch. On the 22d, several more large villages were passed which had been recently destroyed by the Fellatas. The route traversed several ridges of granite, between which are some well watered valleys finely wooded; and another stream was crossed, running to the Quorra, which is only a three days' journey distant. At length, on the 23d, from the top of a high ridge, the Travellers saw the city of Katunga.

' Between us and it lay a finely cultivated valley, extending as far as the eye could reach to the westward; our view was intercepted to the eastward by a high rock, broken into larger blocks, with a singular top; the city lying as it were below us, surrounded and studded with green shady trees, forming a belt round the base of a rocky mountain composed of granite, of about three miles in length; forming as beautiful a view as I ever saw.' p. 35.

Of this negro capital, our Author gives the following description.

' The city of Eyeo (in Houssa language, Katunga,) the capital of Youriba, is situated in lat. $8^{\circ} 59' N.$, long. $6^{\circ} 12' E.$ It is built on the sloping side and round the base of a small range of granite hills, which, as it were, forms the citadel of the town: they are formed of stupendous blocks of grey granite of the softest kind, some of which are seen hanging from the summits in the most frightful manner, while others, resting on very small bases, appear as if the least touch would send them down into the valley beneath. The soil on which the town is built, is formed of clay and gravel, mixed with sand, which has obviously been produced from the crumbling granite. The appearance of these hills is that of a mass of rocks left bare by the tide. A belt of thick wood runs round the walls, which are built of clay, and about twenty feet high, and surrounded with a dry ditch. There are ten gates in the walls, which are about fifteen miles in circumference, of an oval shape, about four miles in diameter one way, and six miles the other; the south end leaning against the rocky hills, and forming an inaccessible barrier in that quarter. The king's houses, and those of his women, occupy about a square mile, and are on the south side of the hills, having two large parks, one in front and another facing the north. They are all built of clay, and have thatched roofs similar to those nearer the coast. The posts supporting the verandahs and the doors of the king's and caboceers' houses are generally carved in bas-relief, with figures representing the boa killing an antelope or a hog, or with processions of warriors attended by drummers. The latter are by no means meanly executed, conveying the expression and attitude of the principal man in the groupe with a lofty air, and the drummer well pleased with his own music. There are seven different markets, which are held every evening; being generally opened about three or four o'clock. The chief articles exposed for sale, are yams, corn, calavances, plantains, and bananas; vegetable butter, seeds of

the colocynth, which forms a great article of food, sweetmeats, goats, fowls, sheep, and lambs; and also cloth of the manufacture of the country, and their various implements of agriculture. Trona (or natron) is brought here from Bornou, and sold to all parts of the coast, where it is much in request, to mix with snuff, and also as a medicine;

pp. 58, 9.

The kingdom of Yourriba extends from within a few miles of the coast of Benin, to about the parallel of 10° N., being bounded by Dahomey on the n. w.; Ketto and the Maha countries on the north; Borgoo on the n. e.; the Quorra eastward; Accoura, a province of Benin, on the s. e.; and Jaboo to the s. and w. Dahomey, Alladah, Badagry, and Maha, were claimed as tributaries, and the King of Benin was referred to as an ally. The government is an hereditary despotism, but its administration appears to have been for a long period mild and humane. When the king was asked, if the customs of Yourriba involved the same human sacrifices as those of Dahomey, his Majesty shook his head, shrugged up his shoulders, and exclaimed: 'No, no; no king of Yourriba could sacrifice 'human beings.' He added, but we suspect without sufficient grounds for the assertion, that, 'if he so commanded, the King 'of Dahomey must also desist from the practice; that he must 'obey him.' The military force consists of the caboceers and their immediate retainers, which, Captain Clapperton supposes, may account to about 150 each; a force formidable enough, no doubt, when called out upon any predatory excursion, but which would seem inadequate to defend the territory against the encroachments or incursions of the Fellata and other more warlike tribes. The Yourribanians struck the Author as having less of the characteristic features of the Negro, than any other African race which he had yet seen. 'Their lips are less 'thick, and their noses more inclined to the aquiline shape, 'than negroes in general.' The men are well made, and have an independent carriage. The women are almost invariably of a more ordinary appearance than the men, which is sufficiently accounted for by the drudgery they are obliged to undergo; 'all the labour of the land devolving upon them.' The cotton-plant is cultivated to a considerable extent, and they manufacture the wool of their sheep into good cloth, which is bartered with the people of the coast for rum, tobacco, European cloth, and other articles. Yet, Captain Clapperton adds, somewhat inconsistently with this statement, that 'the commerce of the 'country is almost entirely confined to slaves.' A prime slave at Jannah is worth from 3*l.* to 4*l.* sterling. His Majesty was much astonished at learning that there are no slaves in England. He feelingly deplored the civil war occasioned by his father's death, the state of his country, and of his capital; asking his

white visiter, if he did not see the ruined towns as he passed. 'All these', he said, 'were destroyed and burned by my rebellious Houssa slaves, and their friends the Fellatas.' Captain Clapperton had considerable difficulty in getting away from Katunga, as the king could not, or would not comprehend why he should be in any hurry to proceed, and offered him a wife if he would stay. Of his own wives and children, he could not tell the precise number, but was sure that his wives alone, hand in hand, would reach from Katunga to Jannah.

At length, on the 7th of March, our Author left the capital of Yourriba, and on the next day, reached Algi, where he entered the territory of Yarro, the sultan of Kiama, a petty state of the kingdom of Borgoo. Algi had belonged to Yourriba, and before it was burned by the Fellatas, consisted of three walled villages. These marauders have a singular mode of setting fire to walled towns, by tying combustibles to the tails of pigeons, which, on being loosed, fly to the tops of the thatched houses, while the assailants keep up a sharp fire of arrows, to prevent the inhabitants from extinguishing the flames. There are in this neighbourhood, 'a number of Fellatas who are *nearly white*, but pagans; they speak the Fellata language, and agree in every thing but their religion.' On the 11th, the Author crossed the Moussa, which formerly divided the kingdoms of Yourriba and Borgoo: it was now dry in many places, but, when full, is about thirty yards in breadth, and runs with a strong current into the Quorra. On the other side, the road lay through thick woods; the soil, a red clay mixed with gravel. Early on the 13th, he was met by an escort from the chief of Kiama,—a despicable, lawless set of fellows, mounted on beautiful horses, and forming as fine and wild a looking troop as he ever saw. By Sultan Yarro himself, our Author was well received. He was found seated at the porch of his door, dressed in a white tunic with a red Moorish cap on his head.

'We shook hands,' says Capt. C.; 'and after telling him who I was, and where I wished to go, he said, Very well, I had better go and rest from the fatigues of my journey in the house that was prepared for me; and he sent his head man to conduct me to it. He was attended by a mob of people, who were lying on their bellies and their sides, talking to him in this posture. . . . I had not remained long, before Yarro sent me a present of milk, eggs, bananas, fried cheese, curds, and *foo-foo*; and I was left alone until the heat of the day was over, when I received a visit from Yarro himself. He came mounted on a beautiful red roan, attended by a number of armed men on horseback and on foot; and six young female slaves, naked as they were born, except a stripe of narrow white cloth tied round their heads, about six inches of the ends flying out behind; each carrying a light spear in the right hand. He was dressed in a red silk damask robe, and booted. He

dismounted and came into my house, attended by the six girls, who laid down their spears, and put a blue cloth round their waists before they entered the door.' p. 66.

Yarro promised our Traveller all the assistance he requested. After a short conference, he remounted his horse, the young spear-women undressed, and 'away went the most extraordinary 'cavalcade,' the Author justly says, that he had ever seen.

Kiama is a straggling and ill built town of circular thatched huts, built, as well as the wall of the town, of clay. It is situated in latitude $9^{\circ} 37' 33''$, longitude $5^{\circ} 22' 56''$; and is one of the towns through which the Houssa and Bornou caravan passes in its way to Gonja, on the borders of Ashantee. It has also a direct trade with Dahomey, Youri, Nyffe, and Yourriba.

'The inhabitants are Pagans of an easy faith; never praying but when they are sick or want something, and cursing their object of worship as fancy serves. The Houssa slaves among them are Mahometans, and are allowed to worship in their own way. The town may contain 30,000 inhabitants. They are looked upon as the greatest thieves and robbers in all Africa; and it is enough to call a man a native of Borgoo, to designate him as a thief and a murderer. Their government is despotic; and it appears that very little protection is given to the subject, as one town will plunder another whenever an opportunity offers.' p. 74.

Captain Clapperton, however, met with nothing but the most hospitable treatment. On arriving at Wawa, another walled town of Borgoo, he was advised by the governor to avoid the Youri road, where there was war, the Sultan of that country being out fighting the Fellatas; whereas the Nyffe road was safe. Our Author thanked him, and said, he would follow his advice, as he had nothing to do with war. The reply of the governor was:—'You are come to make peace among all people, and make the kings leave off war.' This opinion of the pacific object of his mission, which was found every where prevalent, the Author supposes may have arisen from information derived from the people of Dahomey and the coast, respecting the active part taken by the British Government in preventing the slave-trade. It is an impression alike honourable and advantageous to this country, which, we fervently hope, may be hereafter more completely justified and turned to good account. The capital of Borgoo was stated to be Niki, five days from Kiama, and fifteen days from Dahomey; and it is from the latter country, that the people of Borgoo receive all their rum and European articles, such as pewter and earthenware. The governor of Wawa had on, over his white robe, a Moorish caftan of Manchester cotton, and round his cap were several folds of the Stuart tartan riband.

Wawa is in lat. $9^{\circ} 53' 54''$, long. $5^{\circ} 56'$. It is surrounded with a good high clay wall and dry ditch; and is one of the neatest, most compact, and best walled towns which the Author had seen since leaving Badagry. It may contain, he thinks, nearly 20,000 inhabitants. Unlike their neighbours of Kiama, they have a good character for honesty, though not for sobriety or chastity,—virtues wholly unknown at Wawa, but they are merry, good-natured, and hospitable. They deny their Borgoo origin, and say they are descended from the people of Nyffé and Houssa. Their language is a dialect of the Yourriba; their religion, a mongrel Mohammedism grafted upon Paganism. Their women are much better-looking than those of Yourriba, and the men are well made, but have a debauched look.

'In this country', says Captain C., 'as well as in all others that I have passed between this and the sea, I have met with tribes of Fellatas, some of whom are not Mahometans, but Pagans. They certainly are the same people, as they speak the same language, have the same features and colour, except those who have crossed with the negro. They are as fair as the lower class of Portuguese or Spaniards, lead a pastoral life, shifting from place to place as they find grass for their horned cattle, and live in temporary huts of reeds or long grass.' p. 96.

From Wawa, our Traveller proceeded to Boussa, situated on an island formed by two branches of the Quorra, where its course is from N.N.W. to s.s.E. The province of which it is the capital, is said to be more populous than any other in Borgoo. The inhabitants are for the most part Pagans, as is the Sultan, though his name is Mohamed, and his ancestors were descended, he said, from the Sultans of Bornou. Here our Author was shewn the identical spot where Mungo Park perished. The information was given, however, 'as if by 'stealth.' Both the Sultan himself, who was 'a little boy when 'the event happened', and all his people, shewed an uneasiness when any inquiries were made upon this subject; although upon every other, they were frank and communicative, as they were kind and hospitable.

'The place pointed out to me, where the boat and crew were lost, is in the eastern channel: the river being divided into three branches at this place, not one of which is more than a good pistol-shot across. A low flat island, of about a quarter of a mile in breadth, lies between the town of Boussa and the fatal spot, which is in a line, from the Sultan's house, with a double-trunked tree with white bark, standing singly on the low, flat island. The bank is not particularly high at present, being only about ten feet above the level of this branch, which here breaks over a gray slate rock, extending quite across to the eastern shore. This shore rises into gentle hills, composed of gray slate, thinly scattered with trees.' p. 104.

The following account of the circumstances attending the

lamented fate of that enterprising traveller, was subsequently given to Captain Clapperton at Koolfu, by an eye-witness; and, together with all the information which he could collect, it tallies with the story, disbelieved at the time, which Isaaco brought back from Amadoo Fatima.

‘ He said, that when the boat came down the river, it happened unfortunately, just at the time, that the Fellatas first rose in arms, and were ravaging Goober and Zamfra; that the Sultan of Boussa, on hearing that the persons in the boat were white men, and that the boat was different from any that had ever been seen before, as she had a house at one end, —called his people together from the neighbouring towns, attacked and killed them; not doubting that they were the advanced guard of the Fellata army then ravaging Soudan under the command of Malem Danfodio, the father of the present Bello; that one of the white men was a tall man with long hair; that they fought for three days before they were all killed; that the people in the neighbourhood were very much alarmed, and great numbers fled to Nyffé and other countries, thinking that the Fellatas were certainly coming among them. The number of persons in the boat were only four, two white men and two blacks; they found great treasure in the boat, but the people had all died who ate of the meat that was found in her.’

pp. 134, 5.

This meat, according to another native informant, was believed, on that account, to be human flesh; and they knew, it was added, that we white men eat human flesh. A similar impression was produced by the sight of beef on the native of the South Seas who attached himself to Captain Kotzebue. Our Traveller was often puzzled, he says, after the kindness he had received at Boussa, to think what could have produced such a change in the minds of the natives in the course of twenty years, as evinced by their opposite treatment of two European travellers; ‘ for the friendship of the King of Boussa,’ he says, ‘ I consider as my only protection in this country.’ We really think, however, that the mystery is entirely removed by the above explanation; and that Park was attacked and slain under the influence of a false impression, produced by the alarm of invasion.

Koolfu, where our Author obtained the above information, is a great market town in the province of Nyffé, which is resorted to by trading people from all parts. It stands on the northern bank of the May-yarrow, and may contain from twelve to fifteen thousand inhabitants. The Bornou caravans never go further than this place. Among the articles which they bring here, are enumerated, horses, matron, unwrought silk, silk cords, beads, Maltese swords from Bengazi, remounted at Kano; cloths made up in the Moorish fashion; Italian looking-glasses, such as sell

for one penny and upwards at Malta ; tobes undyed, made in Bornou ; *kohol* for the eye-lids ; a small quantity of attar of roses, much adulterated ; gums from Mecca ; silks from Egypt ; Moorish caps ; and *slaves*.

' The caravans from Cubbi, Youri, and Zamfra bring principally slaves and salt, which they exchange for natron, Gora nuts, beads, horses, and tobes dyed of a dark blue and having a glossy and coppery tinge. The slaves intended for sale are confined in the house, mostly in irons, and are seldom allowed to go out of it, except to the well or river every morning to wash ; they are strictly guarded on a journey, and chained neck to neck ; or else tied neck to neck in a long rope of raw hide ; they carry loads on their heads, consisting of their masters' goods or household stuff ; these loads generally from fifty to sixty pounds weight. A stranger may remain for a long time in a town without seeing any of the slaves, except by accident or making particular inquiry.' p. 138.

The majority of the inhabitants of Koolfu are professedly Mohammedans ; the rest are Pagans, who once a-year, in common with the other people of this country, repair to a high hill in one of the southern provinces, on which they sacrifice a black bull, a black sheep, and a black dog. On their fetish houses are sculptured, as in Yourriba, the lizard, the crocodile, the tortoise, and the boa, with sometimes male and female figures. Their language is a dialect of the Yourriba, but the Houssa is that of the market. They are civil, but ' the truth is not in 'them.' They are moreover great cheats. The men drink very hard, even the Mohammedans ; and the women are of easy virtue. Yet, they seem to be not devoid of kindness ; and

' when it is considered,' adds our Author, ' that they have been twice burned out of the town by the enemy within the last six years, and that they have had a civil war desolating the country for the last seven years, and been subject to the inroads of the Fellatas for the last twenty years, and have neither established law or government, I am surprised that they are as good as they are.' p. 143.

Although they succeeded in cheating our Traveller, he was not robbed of a single article.—Soon after leaving this place, the route entered the district of Kotonkora, and, a few miles further, that of Guari ; both formerly belonging to the province of Kashna, which was conquered by the Fellatas a short time after their rising. On the death of 'old Bello', the father of the present sovereign, these districts, with the greater part of Kashna, joined in the *Towia*, or confederacy against the Fellatas. The chief of Zamfra was the first who raised the spear of rebellion, and he was soon joined by the inhabitants of Goo-

ber, Kashna, Youri, Cubbi, and the southern part of Zegzeg. At Zaria, the capital of the latter province, our Traveller found himself in a city almost wholly peopled by Fellatas, who have mosques with minarets, and live in flat-roofed houses. A great number of the inhabitants are from Foota Bonda and Foota Torra, and profess to know both the French and the English very well. 'I am sorry', says Captain C., 'to add, that they 'have not improved by their acquaintance.'

'They rattle over the names between Sierra Leone, or Senegal, and Timbuctoo, like a, b, c, then sit down, and will not start till they get something. These fellows are generally armed with French fuses. They prefer the guns of the French, and the powder of the English. The late governor was a native of Foota Bonda; so that the Foulahs and the Fellatas are the same people. They now possess Jinne, near Timbuctoo, and I think will soon have the whole of the interior.'

p. 159.

The country in the neighbourhood of Zaria looked like some of the finest in England about the latter end of April; and a rich and beautiful tract extends from this place to Kano, which our Traveller reached on the 20th of July. Here he was induced, by the representations of the prime minister of Sultan Bello, to remain for some time; and a hiatus of ten weeks occurs in the Journal, owing to his having been robbed of his remark-book and some other articles. Kano is a city supposed to contain between 30 and 40,000 inhabitants. At length, he set out for the camp of Sultan Bello, and on the 12th of October, fell in with a part of the Sultan's army on the borders of a large lake formed by the rivers Zurmie and Zarrie, and belonging to a chain of lakes and swamps which extend through the plains of Gondamie, almost to Soccatoo.

'The borders of these lakes are the resort of numbers of elephants and other wild beasts. The appearance at this season, and at the spot where I saw it, was very beautiful; all the acacia-trees were in blossom, some with white flowers, others with yellow, forming a contrast with the small dusky leaves, like gold and silver tassels on a cloak of dark green velvet. I observed some fine large fish leaping in the lake. Some of the troops were bathing; others watering their horses, bullocks, camels, and asses; the lake as smooth as glass, and flowing around the roots of the trees. The sun, on its approach to the horizon, throws the shadows of the flowery acacias along its surface, like sheets of burnished gold and silver. The smoking fires on its banks, the sounding of horns, the beating of their gongs or drums, the braying of their brass and tin trumpets, the rude huts of grass or branches of trees rising as if by magic, every where the calls on the names of Mahomed, Abdo, Mustafa, &c., with the neighing of horses and the braying of asses, gave animation to the beautiful scenery of the lake and its sloping, green, and woody banks.' p. 181.

§ 2

This is finely described, but we have no room for comment. The only regulation observed in these rude feudal armies, is, that they take up their ground according to the situation of the provinces, east, west, north, or south; but all are otherwise huddled together.

We must make room for the following curious description of the assault upon Coonia, the capital of Goobur, then in rebellion against the Fellata sultan.

After the mid-day prayers, all, except the eunuchs, camel-drivers, and such other servants as were of use only to prevent theft, whether mounted or on foot, marched towards the object of attack, and soon arrived before the walls of the city. The march had been the most disorderly that can be imagined, horse and foot intermingling in the greatest confusion, all rushing to get forward; sometimes the followers of one chief tumbling among those of another, when swords were half unsheathed; but all ended in making a face or putting on a threatening attitude. Each chief, as he came up, took his station, which I suppose had been previously assigned him. The number of fighting men brought before the town could not, I think, be less than fifty or sixty thousand, horse and foot, of which the foot amounted to more than nine-tenths. For the depth of two hundred yards, all round the walls was a dense circle of men and horses. The horse kept out of bow-shot, while the foot went up as they felt courage or inclination, and kept up a straggling fire with about thirty muskets, and the shooting of arrows. In front of the sultan, the Zegzeg troops had one French fusil: the Kano forces had forty-one muskets. These fellows, whenever they fired their pieces, ran out of bow-shot to load; all of them were slaves; not a single Fellata had a musket. The enemy kept up a sure and slow fight, seldom throwing away their arrows, until they saw an opportunity of letting fly with effect. Now and then a single horse would gallop up to the ditch, and brandish his spear, the rider taking care to cover himself with his large leathern shield, and return as fast as he went, generally calling out lustily, when he got among his own party, "Shields to the wall!" "You people of the Gadado, or Atego," &c., "why don't you hasten to the wall?" To which some voices would call out, "Oh! you have a good large shield to cover you!" The cry of "Shields to the wall!" was constantly heard from the several chiefs to their troops; but they disregarded the call, and neither chiefs nor vassals moved from the spot. At length the men in quilted armour went up "per order." They certainly cut not a bad figure at a distance, as their helmets were ornamented with black and white ostrich feathers, and the sides of the helmets with pieces of tin, which glittered in the sun, their long quilted cloaks of gaudy colours reaching over part of the horses' tails, and hanging over the flanks. On the neck, even the horse's armour was notched, or vandyked, to look like a mane; on his forehead and over his nose, was a brass or tin plate, as also a semicircular piece on each side. The rider was armed with a large spear: and he had to be assisted to mount his horse, as his quilted cloak was too heavy; it re-

quired two men to lift him on ; and there were six of them belonging to each governor, and six to the sultan. I at first thought the foot would take advantage of going under cover of these unwieldy machines ; but no, they went alone, as fast as the poor horses could bear them, which was but a slow pace. They had one musket in Coonia, and it did wonderful execution, for it brought down the van of the quilted men, who fell from his horse like a sack of corn thrown from a horse's back at a miller's door ; but both horse and man were brought off by two or three footmen. He had got two balls through his breast ; one went through his body and both sides of the tobe : the other went through and lodged in the quilted armour opposite the shoulders.'—

p. 185—187.

The cry of *Allahu Akber* (God is great), the war-cry of the Fellatas, was resounded through the whole army every quarter of an hour ; but all was in vain. At sunset, the besiegers drew off ; and the harmless campaign terminated in a desertion of the Zurmie forces, and a general retreat. Captain Clapperton obtained permission to go forward to Soccatoo, there to await the return of the Sultan. This capital is the largest and most populous city which the Author had yet seen ; it stands on an eminence on the southern side of a stream which, at the distance of four days s.w., falls into the Quorra. This was the termination of his journey. The last entry in his journal is dated March 11, 1827. A most touching account of his last moments is supplied by his faithful servant, whose journal is replete with interesting details. On his return to Badagry, after having escaped all the perils of the journey, he had nearly fallen a victim to the vindictive jealousy of three of the Portuguese slave-merchants, who denounced him to the king as a spy sent by the English Government : the consequence was, that it was resolved by the chief men to subject him to the ordeal of drinking a fetish. 'If you come to do bad', they said, 'it will kill you ; but if not, it cannot hurt you'. There was no alternative or escape. Poor Lander swallowed the contents of the bowl, and then walked hastily out of the hut, through the armed men who surrounded it, to his own lodgings ; where he lost no time in getting rid of the fetish drink by a powerful emetic. He afterwards learned, that it almost always proved fatal. When the king and chief men found, after five days, that the fetish had not hurt him, they changed their minds, (as the barbarians did at Melita with regard to St. Paul,) became extremely kind, and said that he was under the special protection of God. He had no doubt, however, that the Portuguese would have taken the first opportunity of assassinating him. They have five factories at Badagry, in which were upwards of 1000 slaves of both sexes, chained by the neck to each other,

waiting for vessels to take them away!—Talk of the Algerines and Arabs! The Portuguese are the worst of Africans.

Art. VII. 1. *The Tale of a Modern Genius; or, the Miseries of Parnassus.* In a Series of Letters. Three Volumes. 12mo. pp. 1076. London, 1827.

2. *Tales of the Great St. Bernard.* In three Volumes. sm. 8vo. pp. 994. London, 1828.

3. *Tales and Legends.* By the Author of the Odd Volume. In three Volumes. pp. 1114. London, 1828.

4. *The Protestant.* A Tale of the Reign of Queen Mary. In three Volumes. pp. 952. London, 1828.

WHATEVER we may have been in time past, we really are not now novel-readers: neither are we, voluntarily, novel-reviewers, excepting in those rare instances where, as in the case of Sir Walter Scott, such works have taken a strong hold on the public mind, and are become a staple of literary commerce. But, when productions of this class are sent to us, by their publishers or authors, 'for review', we feel reluctant to throw them churlishly or contemptuously aside. Something is due to courtesy, and we—the most courteous of reviewers—know not how to refuse payment of the claim.

The first article on the present list, does not, indeed, in strict construction, range among works of mere invention. It professes to be the true narrative of a life marked by deep miseries and unmerited reverses; the harrowing tale of a 'man of genius' constantly and indefatigably striving to obtain a fair hearing—a clear stage and no favour, but continually baffled and thrown back by disastrous combinations of negligence and knavery. We have no knowledge whatever of either the Author's name or his works; though, in a communication which we have mislaid, he seems to charge us with neglect of former publications sent to our address; nor can we, therefore, be influenced in the strictures we shall feel it expedient to make, by any other motive than a sincere wish to correct injurious misconceptions, and to render real talent available to useful and profitable purposes. Independently, however, of this substratum of what we shall take for granted is sober truth,—and it is sufficiently mixed up with well-known names to give it every appearance of reality,—there is evidently a great deal of colouring and decoration superadded; and this has induced us to place the volumes at the head of a list of fictions. This explanation

will at once point out the character of the work, and prevent any undue prepossession on the part of our readers.

We cannot afford space enough to follow the Author, in minute detail, through his restless course. He seems to have been of respectable parentage, but of neglected education; to have become poetical; to have aimed at high things, tragedies and epics; to have been bent on taking honour and emolument by storm, rather than by siege; and to have experienced the usual fate of overweening rashness, a stern and irretrievable repulse. Idling away his youth in a rural parsonage in the west of England, he made acquaintance with the officer of a signal-station near, who praised his poetry, enticed him to London on the faith of promises to procure suitable employment, and then introduced him to an old clothes-man in Monmouth Street, as candidate for a shopman's '*sitivation*'. Our luckless 'man of genius' then entrusts a MS. tragedy to a player, who never returns it. We next find him in an office at Bristol, where he confounds Sir Robert Walpole with his son Horace, and where he speedily contrives to get himself very properly dismissed: his master accusing him of neglecting business for poetry, and he himself pleading guilty to conducting a clandestine correspondence between the attorney's niece and 'a young and hand-some officer in the army'. After engaging as an usher in an academy, and getting into disfavour with the 'illiberal' master, he turns strolling player, grows weary of the stage, fails in the endeavour to procure a situation as captain's clerk, picks up a friend, who takes him out to Malta, where his evil genius still pursues him, and he is compelled to return. Arrived in England without resources, he meets and rejoins his old manager, falls in love, is jilted, and soon after *marries*, himself worse than pennyless, an unportioned wife. A serio-comic drama is composed, but he is unable to procure its performance; and, in the failure of all his schemes, he resolves to turn manager himself, 'is very unfortunate, and loses every thing'.

Our hero's first printed work was a poem on the unpromising subject of Bonaparte's invasion: his second was an epic in eleven books, the result of 'two years' deep study, toil, and application'; an extraordinary effort, certainly, independently of all considerations of excellence or deficiency, in a man 'friendless, unnoticed, unassisted, and without ten useful books to consult.' He moreover commenced a school, to the care of which he would have done well to devote his utmost attention, in preference to airy dreams of fame and wealth from the press and the theatre. He left his calling for an idle trade, and suffered in consequence: we pity, but cannot excuse him. With difficulty he got his poem printed, on the strength of a slender subscription list, and set off on an itinerant tour to dispose of the re-

mainder. In connexion with this journey he gives the following splenetic statement.

' At Dartmouth, during my stay, was held a convocation of dissenting ministers from different parts of the county, some of whom had seen my poem. One of them, Mr. W—— of N—— B——, a friend of mine and a man of good sound sense, but who happening to be very poor, was considered of little importance among them, told me how unfeelingly some of this erudite assembly, who, risen from the counter and the cobbler's stall by their sanctified looks and long prayers to the assumption of scholars and gentlemen, had been sneering at my epic.

" Dear me ! " cried one of the chief of these tender-hearted saints, " it looks so, to see a man hawking about his own works. Besides, he should have come strongly recommended. How can he expect any countenance, running about in this way." Now it so happened, that I had actually presented a recommendatory letter to this very person, from the Rev. Mr. D—— of P——, in D——shire.

" Oh," said another, with an attempt to be witty, " it is the Pilgrimage of Childe ——."

" And what *are* his works," said a third, " that they are thus hawked about ? I am sure I would not give the lumber house-room."

" Nor I either," added a fourth. " I was foolish enough to purchase a copy, and sat down with a friend, who is a very clever judge of poetical talent, to see if it really possessed any claim to merit. But our labour, as we expected, was in vain : we read through several pages, and could not possibly discover a single line of poetry, or any thing like it in the whole *farrago* of rubbish. And then to call it an epic ! What presumption ! I question very much if the author, poor young man, knows what is meant by the term, any more than he understands the common rules of English grammar, which he has wofully violated. My brother minister, Mr. A. of Exeter, was very right when he declared he had never read such a mess of wild bombastic nonsense in all his life."

" Dear me ! and founded on the *Scriptures* too !" returned another of these godly worthies, " what a pity such stuff should be permitted to be published. I think the man ought to be taken up, really.— But I believe, gentlemen, that it is time we should attend divine worship. My bowels yearn with compassion for the poor dear heathen negroes abroad, and I hope we shall have a liberal contribution for them this evening."

' Discerning, candid young men ! I should presume to give them the advice of Apelles to the cobbler, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. I am of opinion, that they are about as good judges of the merits or demerits of my poem, as a Jack Tar is of the difference between the *Alaric* of Scuderi, the *Pucelle* of Chapelain, or the Saxon *Beowulf*, and the classic strains of a Homer and a Virgil ; or how far the *Phœdra* of Racine, the *Macbeth* of Shakspeare, and the *Caractacus* of Mason excel in dramatic excellence and poetic beauty, *Taha-o-chi-cou-Ell*, the glory and boast of the Chinese stage. But let them pass. Time will discover who are the best judges of my ambitious Muse.'

What object, save a very malicious one, could the Writer have in view, in giving publicity to this miserable attempt at satirical exposure? The sentiments are probably correctly given; the dialogue is either fabricated or distorted; the comments are his own. We repress the feelings excited by a representation which disgraces no one but the Author, and content ourselves with intreating him, 'if such a man there be,' *for his own sake*, to cultivate a different spirit, and not to constitute himself the judge of his own works, nor to get into an ill-temper with men who take the very venial liberty of forming and expressing their own opinion. We offer these suggestions in a friendly mood, and by no means with the disposition to oppress a fallen man: but of this more hereafter. The remainder of this tale of wretchedness relates, mainly, to the Author's efforts to come before the public, in various ways, but with almost invariable ill-success. We give another passage of a similar cast to that last quoted.

'Again I reached London, and again I pursued the same course with the booksellers, and with the same success. Mr. Murray, per note, was sorry my poem did not suit him. Longman and Co. disdainfully returned the MSS. as if they were unworthy to remain under their roof, though backed by the repeated recommendations of Mr. Warner of Bath, a gentleman well known for his erudition and valuable writings in the republic of letters. Baldwin would not give me the trouble to call again, it being no use to leave any papers, as poetry had seen its day and was now getting quite out of fashion, except short pieces which were luxuriously voluptuous, or blasphemously libellous. By the head of the house of Taylor and Hessey, I was most politely told, that my MSS. had been read by one of the firm, and found to contain no real poetry, not a single specimen of genuine talent; and that even if they had, the work would be of no use to them, unless, in accordance with the taste of the present day, I could prove myself to be an absolute clown, and some great character would take upon him to assert that I had no more education or manners than a coal-heaver: gentlemen's poetry was of no use in the present day, and therefore they could not think of publishing mine. Mr. Colburn was fairly frightened at the title of an epic poem, and one in blank verse too. No, it would not do; the taste of the age utterly neglected and condemned all such obsolete stuff, and whatever its merits might be, it would never answer to publish it.' pp. 80, 81.

If the matter were not somewhat too serious for jesting, we could make merry with the strange illustrations accumulated in the volumes before us, of the readiness and simplicity with which a man may become the dupe of his own vanity. Booksellers, reviewers, private individuals, are all abused or lauded to the skies, just in proportion as they may admire or yawn, patronize or neglect. In the passage just cited, the spiteful sneer at Clare does little honour to either the Writer's head or his heart. But

it is time that we should express our own opinion, such as it may be, on the general subject.

We say then at once, and *sans phrase*, that the Author has completely mistaken his own faculty. He has cajoled himself into the belief that he is a genuine poet; and he has been cockered up by the weak people with whom he has come in contact; until his mistaken fancies have become confirmed delusions, and hallucination has engendered fanaticism. He is not only no poet, but it is very evident that he does not even know what *poetry* is. He is a man of talent,—decidedly so; he is a ready, and sometimes an ingenious versifier;—he has an eye for nature and a turn for description;—but he may be all this, nay ten times more than this, and yet no poet. His lines run off well, but they want soul; his verse lacks *mind*; and it would be difficult to find a single specimen of decidedly original thought and expression, from beginning to end of the scraps before us. The following is the best: we have a lurking suspicion that we have seen it, or something very like it, before; but however this may be, it is well worth citing.

“ Her brow, another Ida, on whose top
 Beauty, and majesty, and wisdom sit
 Contending for the prize; her radiant locks,
 That o'er her forehead's white float gracefully,
 Like waves of gold chafing an ivory shore;
 Her lovely lids, fair as those fleecy clouds
 Whose dazzling whiteness gems the sumner sky,
 And like them only chided at, because
 'Tis heaven's own blue they hide; her eyes, whose lustre
 A tender melancholy seems to shade,
 Save when deep thought, or deeper feeling, fills
 Those spirit-searching orbs; and then they flash
 The mind's magnificent lightnings, and her face
 Grows spiritually fine, as though her soul
 (Like a bright flame enshrined in alabaster)
 Shone through her delicate and transparent skin,
 Revealing all its glory.”

Vol. II. p. 203.

The volumes in our hands afford a strange proof of want of tact. They make up a whimsical olio of narrative, antiquarianism, description, and scraps of verse. The antiquarianism is shallow; but the story, had it been more highly wrought; and published without its perpetual interruptions, might have obtained circulation. The Author may yet do something effective, if he can but bring himself to make a sober estimate of his own powers; but he may be assured, that his present course is both mistaken and injurious. Nor will he find himself in safety, or at

peace, until he has chosen, in more senses than one, "a more excellent way."

The 'Tales of the Great St. Bernard' are by Mr. Croly, and exhibit all the characteristic qualities of that gentleman's composition. They are spirited and brilliant, highly interesting as narratives, and written, sometimes in a strain of rich and highly ornamented description, at other times with deep feeling, and again with a wild vivacity and effective humour, that make up, in the mixture, a combination of singular poignancy and high flavour. The 'Wallachian's Tale' is a magnificent romance, hurried and irregular, but full of interest and animation. Mustapha Bairacta is a noble portraiture, and the whirl, whim, noise, confusion, and gorgeous painting of the close, are gloriously flung together. We can afford room but for one scrap, a fine description of a burning forest.

"As they reached the verge of the forest, where danger was to be apprehended again, the Albanian stopped to reconnoitre; and Hebe cast an involuntary glance on the spot where she had so lately expected to be intombed.

'Her eye was fixed by its unspeakable grandeur. The fire had long since devoured the copse and other incumbrances of the ground; the trunks of the trees stood upright, but black, and cleared of every lower branch and weed. Among the matted foliage of the summits, thick enough of old to shut out the light of day, the fire still raged; but it raged as in a solid vault of flame; there were no fantastic quiverings and playings of the blaze; it was the sullen magnificence of an endless roof of red hot iron. Colossal pillars, spreading in a thousand vistas; the ground cleared of all but the burning wreck of the soldier and his steed; and vault on vault above, red with concentrated flame; to her eye, it might have made a matchless temple of the Pagan deity of fire, or the more fearful king of evil.'

Vol. II. pp. 173, 4.

The 'Red-nosed Lieutenant' is an old friend and favourite. The 'Woes of Wealth' give a title to a tale of pleasant exaggeration, marked by all that frolicsome humour in which Mr. Croly excels. The 'Patron Saint', the 'Married Actress', the 'Locked-up Beauty', and the 'Conspirator', are all good in their way.

'Tales and Legends' seem to have been partly collected from different sources, and are worked up with considerable dexterity. We can only say further of them, that those who are given to such reading, will find them an agreeable after-dinner amusement.

The 'Protestant' is a tale of persecution and of martyrdom all but completed. It is of the Walter Scott school, and cleverly, but somewhat languidly written. The scenery is better than the dialogue. We give, as a specimen, part of a description of the interior of a gaol.

‘ In one part of the court-yard, four or five men were amusing themselves in the game of jumping or leaping at the ring, accompanying their amusement with loud shouts and exclamations, according to the success or failure of the jumper. Another groupe of savage-looking scullions had collected themselves together, and were drawing straws for the cost of a flagon of beer.

‘ In one corner, something apart from the rest, sat two persons of an extraordinary appearance, who amused themselves with playing a game at cards, that seemed deeply to interest them both. The younger player, in his dress exhibited a mixture of threadbare finery and dirty indigence. The gold lace that faced his doublet was tarnished, and the velvet of his cloak faded and worn ; many a point was broken, and his hose shewed the skin of the wearer through more than one hole. But the beard, cut and knotted into two formal peaks, with a small velvet cap, from which depended a broken plume, set shantily on one side of the head, proclaimed an affectation of the fashion of Whitehall.

‘ This sorry and broken-down beau of his day, was engaged in play with an old fellow, whose beard, white, long, and flowing, would have seemed venerable, but for the shrewd and knavish cast of the features to which it belonged. The old man was dressed in a large black gown, his middle girt about with a broad leather belt, from which depended a rosary and a cross. Near these card-players stood a little, fat, stout fellow, whose only employment seemed to be the delight he took in disturbing the game, by singing, as loud as he could bawl, a ditty that appeared to be particularly disagreeable to the old man’s ears, as from time to time he begged the singer to desist.

‘ One man, heavily ironed, whose fetters clanked in time to the motion of his feet, was seen pacing up and down the court-yard alone ; his beard and hair hanging wild and matted, his clothes retaining in no part their original colour, and so tattered, as to leave bare his sinewy arms and legs ; whilst, his countenance exhibiting an expression of the most reckless brutality, he gazed about him with the utmost indifference, as if wholly insensible to his condition. This man was charged with the crime of murder.

‘ Apart from all the rest, shunned by all, and even by the murderer, appeared a groupe of persons both male and female, whose sober appearance and quiet deportment, together with an air of composure and resignation strongly depicted in the countenance of each, at once proclaimed that their only crime was the result of conscience. These were accused of heresy.’ Vol. I. pp. 143—145.

The character of Owen Wilford, the Protestant confessor, is well contrasted with the fierce subtlety of the Spanish friar, and with the brutal eagerness of the meaner agents of spiritual tyranny. Rose Wilford enacts an interesting part ; and the rescue of the prisoners at the very stake, by the interference of the high-sheriff, is well-managed.

NOTICES.

Art. VIII. *Scripture Natural History for Youth*. By Esther Hewlett ; with numerous illustrative Engravings. 2 Vols. 18mo. pp. 668. 82 Plates. London, 1828.

A very pleasing and useful addition to the juvenile library. The description appears to have been compiled with care, and is interspersed with instructive remarks, while the plates form a most attractive feature of the volumes. We cannot too highly commend the plan of thus connecting, in early instruction, the illustration of the Holy Scriptures with the acquirement of useful and entertaining knowledge.

Art. IX. *The Life and Adventures of Alexander Selkirk* ; containing the real Incidents upon which the Romance of Robinson Crusoe is founded ; in which also the Events of his Life, drawn from authentic Sources, are traced from his Birth, in 1676, till his Death in 1723. With an Appendix, comprising a Description of the Island of Juan Fernandez, and some curious Information relating to his Shipmates, &c. By John Howell, Editor of the "Journal of a Soldier of the Seventy-first Regiment", &c. 12mo. pp. 196. Price 5s. Edinburgh, 1829.

THIS title-page is so long, that our notice of the publication needs be but very brief. It is really a very entertaining volume, and does great credit to the enthusiastic diligence of the Compiler, whom we commend to the Society of Antiquaries, as a right worthy fellow. In 1825, a great-grand-nephew of Selkirk's was a teacher in Canonmills, near Edinburgh ; 'a pious and worthy man, struggling with adverse fortune in his old age.' He shewed to the Editor the identical flip-can which Robinson Crusoe had with him on the island ; and he had also in his possession, a staff that had belonged to the same celebrated personage. His cup, and chest, and other articles are still shewn in the house in which he for some time resided at Largo, his native place, after his return. The simple history of the real Robinson Crusoe is not without interest. At the same time, the slender hints which furnished the ground-work of Defoe's unrivalled romance, detract nothing from the originality of his performance : 'all the incidents, details, and descriptions in that beautiful fiction, belong to Defoe', and the faithful Friday is altogether a creature of his imagination. A more malignant imputation has been cast upon the Author of Robinson Crusoe, than that which denies his original merit : he has been accused of having stolen the materials from the rightful owner. This silly calumny is completely refuted by the fact, that all the information which Defoe had to work upon, had been before the public *seven years* previous to the publication of the romance of Robinson Crusoe in 1719.

Art. X. *The Monthly Bible-Class Book, upon the American Plan*; or, Scriptural Aids to promote a Revival of Religion among the Rising Generation; in the form of Catechetical Exercises upon some of the most interesting Portions of Sacred Writ. Intended also as a familiar Commentary on the Books of Scripture. Vol. I. Gospel by John. By John Morison; Author of an "Exposition" of the Book of Psalms", and of "Lectures on the Reciprocal Obligations of Life", &c. &c. No. I. 18mo. pp. 36. Price 6d. London, 1829.

Such a work as this, which enters thoroughly, in a catechetical form, into the meaning of the text of Scripture, was greatly needed. Mr. M. has set the example of a style of Biblical Instruction somewhat differing from any thing we have yet seen. He has not contented himself with a general reference to the contents of a particular verse, without proposing such interrogatories as must compel thought on the part of the pupil, and lead to a sound and substantial knowledge of the word of God. The mode of illustration is also well adapted to secure the attention and stimulate the inquiry of young persons between the ages of twelve and sixteen. We trust that the Author's aim at usefulness will be successful. We would caution him against every approach to tediousness in his mode of illustrating texts. Brevity, with a sufficient measure of perspicuity, will be a great recommendation to his labours. The immediate design of the Bible-Class Book is thus stated in the preface:—

"Should religion experience a pre-eminent revival in this country, a powerful impression must be made upon the rising generation. In what way can this be expected so effectually to be accomplished as by leading the minds of inquiring youth directly to the fountain of living waters? Catechisms founded upon human formulae of doctrine may often serve an excellent purpose; but exercises directly derived from the written word, and directed towards its immediate illustration, must claim a decisive superiority.

"In the little periodical, of which this is the first number, it is the intention of the Author to combine instruction with impression; and to aid heads of families and ministers in conducting Biblical exercises upon a plan that may call forth the mental energies of the young, and induce them to commence for themselves the delightful task of searching the Scriptures, and "comparing spiritual things with spiritual."

pp. iii, iv.

Art. XI. *The Annual Peerage and Baronetage for the Year 1829.*
2 Vols. 12mo. With the Arms of the Peers, &c. Price 1*l.* 8*s.*
Saunders and Otley. 1829.

THIS publication deserves high praise for the tasteful manner in which it has been got up; and it now appears with great improvements. The clearness and simplicity of its plan was its original recommendation; but unwearied diligence could alone have secured that high degree of accuracy and fulness of detail which are the distinguishing fea-

tures of the present (the third) impression. The labour of obtaining from each noble house, a personal return of the order and extent of their respective families and their collateral branches, must indeed have been immense. Among other improvements in this edition, may be specified, the condensed manner in which the *early history* of each family is given. In these sketches, many new facts and some amusing anecdotes are introduced. Mr. Lodge, so well known as a herald, an antiquary, and an elegant biographical writer, has, we perceive from the preface, laid the fair Compilers (the Misses Innes) under no small obligations to him for valuable assistance. A Baronetage is also for the first time added; and the arms, occupying eighty-eight pages, are engraved with a degree of clearness and beauty worthy of the advanced state of the arts. Altogether, these volumes cannot fail to be extensively acceptable, and we have pleasure in recommending them to the notice of our readers.

ART. XII. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. W. Cuninghame (Author of a Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse) is preparing for the Press, A Critical Examination of some of the Fundamental Principles of the Rev. George Stanley Faber's Sacred Calendar of Prophecy.

Mr. Edmeston has in the Press, The Woman of Shunem, a Dramatic Sketch, and other Sacred Poems.

Preparing for the Press, and will be published during the Spring, Dioclesian, a Dramatic Poem. By T. Doubleday, Author of the Tragedies of Babington, The Italian Wife, &c. &c.

Mr. Allen, the Translator of Calvin's Institutes, is preparing a Translation of the Commentaries of that Reformer; and some part of the work may be expected to appear soon.

Early in February will be published, Three Sermons on the Prosperity of a Christian Church, and the Scriptural Means of promoting the Revival of Religion. By the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, A.M. of Stepney.

Early in February will be published, a Second Edition of An Itinerary of Provence and the Rhone, made during the Year 1819. By John Hughes, A.M., of Oriel College, Oxford. Illustrated by Views from the Drawings of De Wint, and engraved in the Line manner, by W. B. Cooke, G. Cooke, and J. C. Allem. Large Paper, Royal Quarto or Imperial Octavo, uniform with Batty and other European Scenery. The work will be sold with or without the Illustrations.

Shortly will be published, in 12mo., The New Testament; with a Key of Reference and Questions, Geographical, Historical, Doctrinal, Practical, and Experimental; designed to facilitate the acquaintance of Scriptural Knowledge in Bible Classes, Sunday and other Schools, and Private Families. By Henry Wilbur, A.M. Attached to this Edition are the following useful Tables; viz. An Alphabetical Table of Proper Names, accented for correct Pronunciation; an Etymological

Table of such Names as are of importance in elucidating Texts; a Chronological Table; Table of Reference to the Prophecies; and a Miscellaneous Table.

In the Press, *The Portraiture of a Christian Gentleman*, by a Barrister.

ART. XIII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

HISTORY.

Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht. By Lord John Russell. 2 vols. 4to. 2*l.* 10*s.*

The Life and Times of William Laud, D.D. Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. By John Parker Lawson, M.A. 2 vols. 8vo. 2*l.* 8*s.*

The Modern History of England. Part II. Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. By Sharon Turner, F.S.A. and R.A.S.L. 4to. 2*l.* 8*s.*

Stories from Church History, from the Introduction of Christianity to the close of the Sixteenth Century. Fcap. 8vo. 9*s.*

Twelve Year's Military Adventure in Three Quarters of the Globe: or Memoirs of an Officer who served in the Armies of his Majesty and of the East India Company, between the years 1802 and 1814, in which are contained the Campaigns of the Duke of Wellington in India, and his last in Spain and the South of France. 2 vols. 8vo. 1*l.* 4*s.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Modern Martyr. By the Author of the *Evangelical Rambler.* 2 vols. 12mo. 10*s.*

The Spirit and Manners of the Age; a Christian and Literary Miscellany for 1828. 8vo. 11*s.* 6*d.*

A Reply to Sir Walter Scott's History of Napoleon. By Louis Bounaparte, Count de Saint Leu, Ex-King of Holland, &c. Translated from the French. 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Visits to the Religious World. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The History of Bullanabee and Clinkataboo, two recently discovered Islands in the Pacific. 18mo. 2*l.* 6*d.*

PHILOLOGY.

The Metres of the Greek Tragedians, explained and illustrated. By John M'Caul, A.B. Trinity College, Dublin. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

An Analysis of the Text of the History of Joseph, upon the Principles of Professor Lee's Hebrew Grammar. For the use of Students in St. David's College, Lampeter. By the Rev. Alfred Olivant, M.A. Vice-Principal of St. David's College. 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

THEOLOGY.

Ministerial Perseverance: a Charge delivered at the Settlement of the Rev. Arthur Tidman over the Church Assembling in Barbican, on Thursday, Jan. 8, 1829. By the Rev. Andrew Reed.

A Pastoral Letter on the Subject of Revivals in Religion. By the Rev. J. A. James. 6*d.*

Hints designed to promote a Profitable Attendance on an Evangelical Ministry. By the Rev. William Davis, Hastings. Second Edition. 24mo. 8*d.* or 2*l.* 10*s.* per hundred.

TRAVELS AND TOPOGRAPHY.

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